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Anti-Abolition Tracts.

1. Abolition is National Death.
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Anti-Abolition Tracts.---No. 1.

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ABOLITION IS NATIONAL DEATH

OR,

THE ATTEMPT TO EQUALIZE RACES

WILL

DESTRUCTION OF SOCIETY.

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VAN EVRIE, HORTON & CO.,

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1866.

ANTI-ABOLITION TRACTS.

For twenty-five or thirty years the Abolitionists have deluged the country with innumerable books, pamphlets and tracts, inculcating their false and pernicious doctrines. Little or nothing has ever been done in the same way towards counteracting their influence. Thousands now feel that such publications are indispensably necessary. In order to supply what it is believed is a wide-felt want, the undersigned have determined to issue a series of "Anti-Abolition Tracts," embracing a concise discussion of current political issues, in such a cheap and popular form, and at such a merely nominal price for large quantities, as ought to secure for them a very extensive circulation. The following numbers of these Tracts have been issued :

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VAN EVRIE, HORTON & CO., Publishers,

162 Nassau Street, New York.

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ABOLITION IS NATIONAL DEATH.

PART I.

The human creation is a group or family composed of several species, some six or seven of which are sufficiently known to be classed and defined with absolute certainty. Among all the innumerable beings composing the organic world, there is no such thing as a single species, and the absurd dogma of a single human species or race, so universally accepted in modern times, is as irrational and utterly in conflict with the fixed and fundamental laws of organic life, as the idea or notion of a stick with a single end, is in conflict with the laws of physics. Superficial and ignorant minds fancy that if Negroes are not *black-white* men, or colored men, as they term it, why, then, forsooth, they must be something midway between *us* and animals, as if because the rattlesnake was not the same as the gartersnake, why, of course, it must be half a bird or fish, or some other monstrosity, midway between snakes and some other form of life!

We see all about us, every day, on every side, the manifestations of the simple and fixed laws of organic life. All are grouped together in families. The eagle and the owl are both birds,

as are pigeons, robins, etc., but *different* birds. So with fishes—the shad, salmon, trout, pickerel, etc., are all fishes, but different species of course. So with serpents—the black snake, the adder, moccasin, garter and rattlesnake, are all alike snakes—but what a world of difference between the harmless little reptile of our gardens and the rattlesnake, the venomous and terrible creature that strikes and kills in an hour!

Again: among dogs it is seen they are all dogs, all with the capacity of interunion; yet what an almost boundless difference between the graceful and intelligent hound or pointer, and the brutal and stolid bull-dog. Can any one be so stupid or so wicked as to try to educate the bull-dog into the habits of the hound? or to *force* them to live the same life, to manifest the same qualities, to compel these creatures, whom God has made different, and designed for different purposes, to fulfil the same purpose? Surely there is as great a relative difference between the Caucasian and the Negro, as there is between the hound and the bull-dog? and to force the former into “impartial freedom” involves as gross and as awful an impiety as to strive to equalize the latter, or to compel beings whom God has made different,

to manifest the same qualities, and to live out the same life. But it is not necessary to multiply words on a subject of fact—demonstrative, physical fact. All that is needed to a rational mind, or even to the lowest grade of intelligence, is the simple statement of these facts, with the unavoidable inferences that belong to them, to convince the wildest and most bewildered among us, of the awful error under which they are laboring in respect to the social order and domestic institutions of the South.

As has been said, the human creation is a family or form of life composed of some six or more species. Like all other families or forms of life, they have a *generic* resemblance, but are *specifically* different. This difference is uniform and absolute, fixed forever by the hand of God, and no human ignorance, folly, or impiety, can ever modify it to the millionth part of an elementary atom. The difference in the physical—the mere organic structure—pervades the entire moral and intellectual being, so that comprehending the former, we can easily measure the latter, or, in other words, the physical differences between the white man and the Negro, represent exactly the intellectual.

As with all other *genera*, there is a certain capacity of interunion in the several human species, less, however, in the instance of Caucasians and Negroes than in other races, for these two occupy the extremes of the generic column, the former being at the head, and the latter at the base of this column. There is always an imperfect vitality in the mulatto and mongrel verging to absolute sterility, and the fourth generation of the former is as absolutely forbidden to multiply itself as the mule in the first generation.

Such, briefly presented, are the funda-

mental and everlasting *facts*—fixed forever by the hand of God—the Negro is a different and widely different human species—the most inferior, as the white man is the most superior of all the human races. Why this is so, or when or how the Almighty Creator saw fit, in His boundless wisdom and infinite goodness, to thus ordain things, we do not know or ever can know. It is hidden from us, as is the beginning and the ending of our own individual existence, and the man or the men who seek to know it—to penetrate the counsels of the Eternal—to know when, or how, or why the human creation exists, as it now stands before us, palpable to the sense, and unchangeable in its *diversities*, commit a similar folly to that of the individual man who might seek to know either the beginning or the end of his own existence. It is a *fact*, existing, unchangeable, and everlasting, while the organic world itself exists, that the human creation consists of several separate species of men, differing just as widely as do species in other, and all other forms of life, and to shut our eyes to this *fact*, and blindly, stupidly and wickedly assume them all to be a single species, we must not only continue to inflict a terrible punishment on ourselves, but we shall richly merit such punishment.

This Negro race is here, must always remain here, for it is wanted here, and if some Infinite Power should interpose, and suddenly annihilate it, we would instantly set to work, fit out ships, and replace them by fresh accessions from Africa, otherwise some seventy degrees of latitude in the centre of the Continent, *must* remain a desert waste, and their natural products, so absolutely essential to the progress and happiness of mankind, would be lost to the world. Further-

more, the Negro, isolated in Africa, is, and *must* be, a useless, nonproducing savage. His organism as utterly forbids any thing else, as that of the quadruped forbids an upright posture and all human experience is in accord with these physiological facts. We must, therefore, admit that God designed the Negro for juxtaposition with the superior white man, otherwise he would be created in vain, a supposition, of course, not to be tolerated a moment. Moreover, his wonderful capacity of imitation—that striking quality which those ignorant of his nature have often mistaken for real capacity—is a positive proof that God designed him to exist in juxtaposition with the superior race. The social relations between beings so widely different in their endowments as the Caucasian and Negro, and the purposes the Creator has assigned them, should not be, as indeed they never have been, mistaken by those actually in contact with these Negroes. That the subordinate Negro must occupy a subordinate social position, is an unavoidable truth; but, it is replied, it does not follow that he should be a slave. Of course it does not, but what is a slave? All God's creatures, human and animal, have a natural right to live out the life he has adapted them to. When they do this they multiply and are happy; when they do not, they are miserable and die. *When they live the life that they are designed for, they are free; when they do not, they are slaves.* These obvious truths only need to be applied to Negroes to determine the point whether they are slaves in Massachusetts, or free in Virginia. In Boston, according to the statement of the City Register, the births among these poor creatures, for five years past, are 124, while the deaths for the same period are 376, thus show-

ing that it is only a question of time when Puritanical and bastard philanthropy shall have destroyed all the Negroes of that "enlightened" commonwealth. On the contrary, the Negroes in Virginia, for this same period, have multiplied even faster than the whites themselves.

Similar results are universally demonstrated by the Federal census in all the States of the Union. The subordinate Negro is in a subordinate social position, and rapidly multiplies; or he is forcibly thrust into the position of the superior white man, and rapidly perishes. Or, in other words, the Negro in the South lives in accord with the nature God has given him, and is happy, and rapidly increases in numbers; while in the North he is forced into conflict with all his natural wants, and miserably perishes. *The term slave is, therefore, a misnomer, a word borrowed from Europe, expressing a certain relation of white men to each other a thousand years ago, and senseless when applied to the South.*

Such are the facts as regard the Negro. In respect to ourselves, the presence of this natural substratum of society excludes all those artificial and unnatural distinctions among the dominant race, borrowed from the Old World, and secures freedom and equality for the masses. Our whole political and party history presents one continuous proof of this vital truth. The planter, or the so-called slaveholder of the South, is an agriculturist, producer, indeed, a laborer, for it is his brain, directing the hand of the Negro, that constitutes labor at the South. His interests are identical with the producer of the North, and these classes, in the form of the Democratic party, have governed the country, acquired all its Territories, and fought all its battles for sixty years past; indeed, southern "slaveholders," with their

natural allies, as Mr. Jefferson termed the laboring classes of the North, have made the Republic what it is, or rather what it was, when Mr. Lincoln was elected to the Presidency by a moiety or fraction of the northern people. But though this government was made by so-called slaveholders, though Washington, Jefferson, Jackson, nearly all the great men of the country, were the natural offspring of a society founded on Democratic principles, and the natural distinctions of race, though three-fourths of the votes in Congress against national banks, protective tariffs and other schemes for plundering labor of its rewards and enslaving the working classes of the North, have been those of "slaveholders," though all the Presidential vetoes against these schemes were those of southern Presidents; in a word, though the "slaveholders" of the South are the natural allies, and have always defended the rights of the northern producing classes, antagonist forces, acting through the ignorance, misconception and absolute delusion of certain classes in the North, have long endangered the peace of the country, and at last precipitated it into the present frightful crisis.

These forces are wholly foreign in their origin. Europeans, ignorant of the races of this continent—the Indian, negro, &c.—imagine them similar beings to themselves, except in color, and naturally entitled to the same rights, therefore, when held in subordination to the white man, and denied these rights, of course imagine them slaves. They rarely see a negro, and suppose the black skin, woolly hair, thick lips, &c., that they read of, are the results of climate or of many years of savagery, slavery and other imaginary causes of physical degradation. This notion, or this conception, so

natural under the circumstances to the European mind, has been borrowed from the Old World by those among us who read British books and form their ideas on European models. And instead of enlightening Europe on the subject, or instead of demonstrating to them that the negro *is* a negro and is *not* a Caucasian or "colored man," even our ethnologists and men of science have passively assented to the absurd assumption, while all our book writers, editors, &c., have made this assumption the starting-point of all their reasoning on the subject of so-called slavery. And until a very recent period, even those who assumed to defend the social order of the South did so on the basis of this foreign assumption of a *black-white* man, having the same natural right to liberty as other men, or as having the same natural rights as themselves. Thus is witnessed the strange, and indeed utterly disgraceful anomaly of American society convulsed and American institutions endangered by an *idea* not merely European, but one, in fact, that would be an impossible conception to the American mind were we wholly isolated from Europe. The negro *is* a different and inferior man just as an owl is a different and inferior bird to the eagle, or as the bull dog is a different and inferior dog to the hound, and were we wholly shut out from intercourse with Europe, it would, of course, be as absolutely impossible to conceive of a *black-white* man, or that the negro was a man like ourselves except in color, as it is to imagine an owl an eagle, or a bull dog a hound.

Here, then, is the great, fundamental, absolute and unmistakable *cause* of all our troubles—the palpable and elementary error of the northern mind—the fatal and deplorable origin of the popular

delusion—the original starting-point of that wide-spread, often well meant, but always pestilent and malignant “philanthropy,” which has corrupted northern intelligence, patriotism, and even, to a certain extent, the instincts of race, and led large numbers of the northern people into a blind, bitter and unrelenting warfare on their brethren of the South.

But though this European conception, or rather misconception, of the negro is natural enough, indeed could not be otherwise with those ignorant of all races save their own, it would not carry with it any evil or mischievous influence, did not circumstances connect it with the political interests of Europe, and especially with those of the English aristocracy. Prior to the American Revolution of 1776, no one ever heard of an Abolitionist, or that “negro slavery” was wrong, or that it was an evil that some day should be removed from the world, and if these States had remained in subjection to England and in harmonious relation with the British aristocracy, it is altogether unlikely that there would now be such a thing as an Abolitionist, either in the Old World or the New. All the nations of Europe are Caucasian—white men, the same race, unless perhaps a few thousand Laplanders in Norway. Except France, whose condition is exceptional, if not abnormal, all these nations have the same system, the same social order, the same general principles of government, and though England pretends to be free and thinks Russia despotic, there is little or no difference in the actual condition of the masses of their people.

Society is divided by artificial distinctions into kings, bourgeoisie and peasants, in fact, into the few and the many—the *few who produce nothing, yet enjoy every thing, and the many who produce every-*

thing but enjoy nothing. They are all the same race, created free and equal, sent into the world with the same wants, the same faculties, in short, the same nature, and therefore were designed by an Almighty and beneficent Creator for the same purpose, to enjoy the same happiness and to perform the same duties. But from the instant they come into the world, the system of social order takes possession of them, and forces them into widely different conditions—the few into idleness and luxury, the many into lives of ignorance, toil and brutality, differing very little from the animals that they labor with. One man often owns a whole county, and turns several thousand acres of fertile land into a park for deer, where he may “enjoy the pleasures of the chase,” while twenty thousand of his brethren, his own kith and kin, white men and women whom God created his equals and designed for the same happiness as himself, are denied enough of the soil of their native land to bury them in when dead! Half a million of hereditary aristocrats, with, perhaps, four or five millions of shopocracy, or so-called middle-class, which serve as a sort of police agency, and enjoy a certain portion of the plunder, constitute the governing force, the real and only “England;” while the great, ignorant, toiling, voiceless and voteless millions are mere beasts of burthen to their brethren—to those whom God created their equals and designed for the same purpose as themselves—but who, through human inventions of “Church” and “State,” are artificially elevated into superior beings. Nor does England, except in degree, differ from the rest of Europe, though the few are doubtless the richest while the many are more abject in their poverty than elsewhere. It is the system, the condition

which has come down from barbarous and semi-barbarous times; the few are artificially elevated and the many artificially degraded, so that the latter are regarded, and doubtless regard themselves, as beings of a "lower order," as indeed they are universally designated in England. That a society thus existing, or that the ruling classes should regard the masses as no better than American negroes, and should, therefore, imagine the negro hardly dealt with when denied the "freedom" of the English or European laborer, is consistent, and, under the circumstances, perfectly logical.

American society, resting on the natural distinction of race, fixed forever by the hand of the Almighty, is irreconcilable with theirs, and though there may be outward peace, the conflict is none the less deadly between conditions and systems thus vitally antagonistic. We are twenty-five millions of white men, whom God has created equal, in juxtaposition with four millions of negroes, whom *He* has created inferior, and our system, State and national, is based on these fixed, unchanging and everlasting *facts*. The white citizenship are naturally equal, and, therefore, enjoy equal rights; the negroes are naturally inferior, and, therefore, occupy a position of social inferiority corresponding with their wants and the nature God has given them. Between us and the Old World, or between us and England, who is the leader and bulwark of the old order, there is no peace or possible compromise. The few must expect to abandon their privileges over the many, must give up their wealth and power over the masses, and reorganize society on a Democratic basis like our own, or they must break down the American system thus in contrast and contradiction to their own. Fortunately for

the temporary preservation of the aristocracy, the ignorance of their people enabled them to strike their deadliest blows at us in the name of liberty and under the pretence of philanthropy. The negro "slave" of America was assumed to be a *black-white* man, or man like themselves except in color, and consequently a slave, and, therefore, the American system, with one-sixth of its population denied all rights whatever, was, to the ignorant European mind, worse even than their oppressive system of kings and aristocrats. The writers and supporters of monarchy had thus a boundless field for denunciation of our and eulogy of their own system, which, whatever the practical consequences in theory, seemed vastly more liberal and humane than American Democracy resting on a supposed slavery. And, if the premises or the assumptions were sound, the inferences were indeed unavoidable. If the negro, except in color, were a man like ourselves, with the same nature and the same wants as the white man, then everything imagined by the Abolition writers for the past sixty years would, or might have been, true enough. But the government, the ruling force, the aristocracy, were impelled not alone by these writers, but from the necessities of their condition, to make war on us, and instinct prompted them to strike at "negro slavery" as the vital principle of our system, the foundation on which rested the entire structure of Democratic institutions.

There are in America thirty millions of white men, some twelve millions of negroes, and about the same number of Indians or aborigines. If, therefore, the assumption that all these different beings were the same, with the same nature, same wants, &c., in short, naturally con-

sidered, entitled to the same rights, if this dogma or theory was literally practiced, it could only be a question of time when American society would be utterly demoralized and Republican institutions overthrown. Or, in other words, if the distinctions of race, the fixed and everlasting boundaries decreed by the Almighty between white men, Indians and negroes on this continent were disregarded, corrupted, violated and trampled on, a time would needs come when society, as now organized, would be destroyed, and, instead of the natural distinctions of race, there would follow the artificial distinctions of class common to the old societies. That the upholders of the European system should, therefore, strike at "negro slavery" in America, is not alone logical, but absolutely a necessity of self-preservation. Their statesmen may not always have understood themselves the causes prompting them to make war on "negro slavery," but an instinct inherent in hostile systems impels them, unconsciously, perhaps, in this direction.

As has been said, it was only when Jefferson declared the immortal and everlasting truth, that "All (white) men are created equal" and a government or political system based on this truth or rather this *fact*, was organized, that English writers discovered the frightful wrong of "negro slavery," and English statesman began that *crusade* in behalf, or pretended behalf, of the lower races of this continent that has worked out such stupendous results, and at last has culminated in the *quasi* destruction of the American Union.

They have expended some five hundred millions of treasure in this crusade, and abolished the natural order of society in the whole tropical centre of the continent, except Cuba and Porto Rico.

The supremacy of the white man abolished, and the negro left without guidance or control, relapses, of course, into his original Africanism, and if we are to suppose that Americans are never to be permitted to restore the normal order or the natural relations of the races, the time would soon come, when some seventy degrees of latitude, right in the heart of America, must be occupied by a huge Africanism or heathenism like that presided over by the King of Dahomey and other African savages.

But all these deplorable results, the ruin of industry, production, civilization in the centre of the continent, with the decay and ruin of all that is healthy and desirable in human society, in the heart of the New World, the vast expenditure of treasure, thus forcing the British laborer to take bread from the mouths of his own children to pay the interest on money squandered on the American negro—the loss to human welfare of those vast productions of the tropics which, sixty years ago, made Jamaica, San Domingo, &c., centres of trade and commerce—the actual destruction of something like one million of negro lives in the vain attempt to put down the "slave trade," and the rapidly approaching Africanism of those islands least influenced by the white man—all these boundless and measureless evils that the great "anti-slavery," delusion of our times has dragged after it—are, after all, trifling in comparison with that wide-spread corruption of the American mind and perversion of American intelligence, which has, at last, culminated in civil war

So long as the American mind remained untainted and American society intact, the *diableries* of the "anti-slavery" delusions were comparatively harmless. Canada and Jamaica alike

might be given over to the huge imposture, the islands might be destroyed, the genial and naturally luxuriant tropics that God designed for the welfare and happiness of his creatures might be rendered a desert, the negro permitted to relapse into his idle and useless savagery, even the bones and muscles of the over-worked and under-fed white slaves of England might be mortgaged for centuries to come, to pay for all this devil's work, so long as the freemen of this Republic were untouched and untainted by the great delusion, the energy of our people, and the vitality of our institutions would, sooner or later overcome all this surrounding rottenness, and restore civilization to these wasted regions.

But innumerable books, tracts and pamphlets, and hordes of crazy lecturers, like the frogs of Egypt have overflowed the land, and deluded the so-called educated classes into a belief or notion, the most absurd, most disgusting and debasing that ever corrupted the mind or perverted the moral instincts of mankind. It is now some thirty years since an open and direct effort was made by British agents, and their tools among us to propagate these debasing theories. At first a popular instinct prompted the people to mob them, but after a certain time they were thought to be harmless, and, by common consent, were permitted to propagate their disgusting tomfooleries without let or hindrance. As observed, to the European, who had never seen negroes, or any other race but his own, it was easy enough to imagine a *black* white man, or man like himself, except in color, but the American, who saw them every day, and who, however absurd his theories, could not, nor did not, debase the instincts God had en-

dowed him with to the extent of practicing his own professed belief, will remain a marvel and a mystery to the latest generation. They accepted the European notion that a negro was a man like themselves having the same origin, the same nature, the same right to liberty, &c., and denounced those who would not practice their doctrines as guilty of every conceivable crime against humanity, and yet these people would prefer to see a sister or a daughter dead at their feet rather than live out their own belief, or rather than they should intermarry with the most pious, intelligent and worthy negro that ever lived! Indeed, while their minds were corrupted, and their reason utterly prostrate, those instincts of race which the Almighty endowed them with for the preservation of the species, remained uncorrupted, and their blood pure, but that they should never hesitate to denounce others for not doing that which they, if really tested, would rather suffer death, or rather have their friends suffer death, than practice, is certainly a form of mental malady altogether unparalleled.

Thirty years of steady iteration, however, of the same absurdities, with an apparent profound conviction of their truth, backed by British influences, British literature and British policy—indeed, by the common sentiment of the “civilized world,” that is, of kings and their flunkies, these absurdities, these miserable tomfooleries of *black-white* men and imaginary slavery, and impossible slaveholders, have resulted in the formation of a political party organized for the purpose of reducing them to practice! This party began its existence several years ago, and was led by writers and orators, who, setting out with the assumption

that the negro was a man like themselves except in color, and therefore, naturally considered, entitled to the same liberty or rights, was not merely ignorant, but necessarily as utterly ignorant of *everything* in one half of their common country as they could be of the internal affairs of Japan or other countries that none of them had ever visited and yet, under a constitution designed to secure the common welfare, these ignorant and deluded men aspired to govern the South! Unfortunately for the country, for this party even, for all of us, the writers and politicians avowedly opposed to it in the North, not only failed to expose and explode its delusions, but such was the universal corruption of the northern mind, that they actually assented to its miserable abstractions as admitted truths! The "anti-slavery" writer assumed the negro to be a man with the same (natural) rights as himself, and four millions of these negroes were consequently slaves at the South, and slavery being wrong, and a great evil, it was the duty of every citizen to aid in the removal of this evil. His opponent admitted all these assumptions, but professed to have some kind of specific—popular sovereignty, Lecompton, or some contrivance or other, which he insisted would, in time, produce the same result; that is, remove or neutralize the admitted evil, but do so in some mysterious way satisfactory to the South. The people of the North thus left without guidance, and fairly buried for years under an avalanche of falsehood and folly, finally elected Mr. Lincoln to the Presidency, not from any real belief in his party creed, but because they were disgusted and indignant at the insincerity and want of candor, if not of honesty, in his party opponents.

Here, then is the legitimate culmination of the great "anti-slavery" delusion of half a century, a man elected to the Presidency by a sectional party, on a platform (as claimed by this party) of avowed hostility to the South. If after the election, Mr. Lincoln's party had disavowed this hostility, Virginia, Tennessee, &c., would doubtless have submitted to the sectional and constitutional action of the Northern States however indignant their feelings at the gross injustice done them by their brethren at the North. But the leaders and party organs utterly refused to do this, and declaring that the people had decided against the "extension of slavery" or any future expansion of the population of the South, avowed their design to stand by that decision, at all hazards, and to the last extremity. This election, and especially the interpretation given it in the Peace Convention by the "anti-slavery" leaders, brought the question to a crisis, for between the North, as represented by this party, and the South, there *was* and *is*, no ground for peace or possible settlement, and yet such is the width, and breadth, and length, and depth of the "anti-slavery" delusion, that few, if any of the public men of the country understand this startling and terrible truth.

We need scarcely to refer again to the *causes* producing the national troubles but a brief consideration of the certain, indeed unavoidable consequences of reducing, or of striving to reduce the "anti-slavery" notions to practice, will present these *causes* in such clear and enduring colors, that a man may run and read them, and though a fool, understand them. The party that elected Mr. Lincoln assume that negroes are black-white men, with the same natural

right to liberty as their masters, that the relation between them is forced and artificial, and dependent on the *lex loci*, and therefore being wrong, and an evil, that it should be abolished, and "impartial freedom" secured to all alike. Their practical programme is to prevent any further "extension of slavery," and thus penning up this negro element within its present limits, with the *prestige* of government on the side of "freedom, a time must come when "slavery," or the existing order *must* disappear and "impartial freedom" follow of course. All this, when understood, is simply and exactly just this, and nothing else:—*They suppose the negro to be a black-white man, and they propose to use the government to realize their idea, or transform their theory into fact* Europeans, necessarily, have this conception of the negro, for they are ignorant of his real nature, and British writers, British books, British policy, and British teachings have so corrupted their minds and perverted their understandings that the leaders of this party engage in this monstrous undertaking, to abolish the supremacy of the white man or the subordination of the negro, and give them the *same* freedom.

The negro is a creature of the tropics, as absolutely so as the orange or plantain, and for seventy years past the laws of climate and industrial adaptation have constantly attracted him in this direction as shown by the several census reports from 1790 to 1860, and to interrupt this vital law, to violate this fundamental principle of national progress, would be a death blow, not alone to so called slavery, but to the national life, and fatal to the future of American civilization. But suppose it done—that in all coming time the negro population of

the South were penned up within its present limits, what then? Why, it is said, "slavery" will become so unprofitable that the masters will themselves desire to be relieved from it, and the several States will abolish it, and universal liberty or "impartial freedom" will be secured. That is, society, as now organized at the South, will be so debauched and demoralized that the whites will do longer assume superiority over the negroes, and all will stand on the same common level of legal and political equality. Of course, if such a thing were possible, there would follow social equality and universal amalgamation, for though the dupes of this stupendous delusion dream of a possible state where all will enjoy "impartial freedom" without amalgamation, no one but an absolute lunatic, when they really reflect on the subject, can tolerate such nonsense.

The population, thus penned up within existing limits, and "slavery," or the social relations of the races, so corrupted and disorganized that the whites no longer claim superiority, and universal equality and fraternity, are complete, what then? Why, simply this:—We are twenty five-millions of whites in juxtaposition with four millions of negroes. The "anti-slavery" idea thus practicalized, would, in the second generation, have annihilated the specific negro—there would only be mulattoes—the third generation would end in quadroons, and, as the mulatto of the fourth generation is as absolutely sterile as the mule, it could only be a question of time when every drop of negro blood would disappear as entirely as if there had never been a negro on this continent.—Here, then, would be the final end of the stupendous delusion of the day. First

—The theory or assumption of a *black-white* man with the same nature and same right to liberty as ourselves. Second—The formation of a party to carry this into practice, through the action of the Federal Government. Third—The penning up of the negro with consequent debauchment and destruction of existing relations. Fourth—"Impartial freedom," and the consequent social equality and ultimate amalgamation, ending finally in the total extinction of the negro element. If some debauched, idiotic or brutal man should set up the assumption that a bull dog could be made to manifest the qualities of the grey hound, and should set to work to realize his *idea*, everybody would know that he might kill the former by his experiments, but could not change the eternal order of nature. Or if some philanthropist of the "anti-slavery" order should assume that he could change the color, hair, the form of the features, the shape of the limbs, or any other *physical* quality of the negro into that of the white man, everybody, however ignorant or deluded on the subject, would understand its cruelty and folly and know, beyond doubt, that while he might kill the poor negro, he could not change or modify, in the slightest degree, that which the Almighty Creator had fixed forever. And yet here is a party that proposes to set aside the handy-work of the Eternal, and transform four millions of different and subordinate negroes into black Caucasians and "impartial freedom" with themselves.

But while the "anti-slavery" idea, thus reduced to practice, would necessarily end in the "ultimate extinction" of the negro element, so awful a sin against "God and humanity" would

react in a still greater punishment of the nation guilty of such a transcendent crime. Of the twenty-five millions of whites, four millions would be involved in this admixture of races, and as the uncontaminated among them would escape from a land thus doomed, nearly half of this great Republic would be as Mexico, Central America, &c., are now, a mere mongrel mass of diseased and effete humanity, a source of decay and weakness, rendering us the possible, or indeed the probable, prey or conquest of some European nation. But as has been remarked, in the course of time the negro blood would die out, this hideous ulcer on the body politic would be healed, the vast mass of diseased humanity would slough off, and the nation, the typical Caucasian finally recover itself. Again we should be nation of untainted white men, as we were before this experiment of securing "impartial freedom" to the negroes began; but who can measure or what imagination can conceive even, of the intermediate degradation, suffering and despair involved in it? We can form some notion of the wrong and suffering that would be inflicted on the negro by comparison with that which would follow, if some "philanthropist" should try the experiment of transforming his *physical* nature into that of our own. Of course he would kill him in the process, and, in view of his misery, would it not be more humane to murder him outright at once? So too, with the four millions in the South—in comparison with the practical application of the "anti-slavery" idea—the freedom, equality, amalgamation, mongrelism, and "ultimate extinction" would be immeasurably more cruel than their immediate and universal massacre. And if "the anti-slavery" party were to

order the army to march and totally exterminate the four millions of negroes in the South, it would be an act of the highest humanity in comparison with using them to force "impartial freedom" with all the terrible consequences involved, on these subordinate and helpless people. Inded we witness all about us an approximation to these terrible truths.

New York has some fifty thousand negroes, who are constantly diminishing because, instead of leaving them where God and nature placed them, in subordination and under the protection of the white man, we *force* them to live under the theory of an equal freedom, and it is consequently only a question of time when they will be utterly exterminated. Massachusetts, who most rigidly imposes the burden of "impartial freedom," most rapidly destroys these helpless creatures, and indeed we may always determine, with an approximation to accuracy by the simple application of this test, when the free negro of the several States will be wholly extinct.

But while such would be the certain however remote result of carrying into practice the theories of the "anti-slavery" party so far as the negro is concerned who can estimate or even imagine the boundless and illimitable calamity that would result to ourselves and the general cause of civilization. To pass by the destruction and loss to the world of the single item of cotton, which now, directly and indirectly, furnishes subsistence to possibly ten millions of white men, to leave out of view rice, sugar, all the other great staples essential to human happiness, to abandon some seventy degrees of latitude in the centre of the continent to become barren wastes, or equally repulsive to plant a

huge African heathenism in the centre of the continent—to pass by all these *trifling* considerations, we have only to contemplate the "ultimate extinction of slavery" and "impartial freedom" with four millions of negroes in the South, as actually dreamed of by the lunatics of the day, with its unavoidable consequences of social equality, amalgamation, mongrelism, disease and final extinction of the negro element, to understand the bitterness, the unutterable and intolerable sense of wrong felt at the South, towards those who, in their wicked ignorance and blind atrocity, are laboring to bring upon them and their children a doom more awful than was ever yet visited on human kind since the world began. True, they may not themselves comprehend it in detail or in form, but that instinct of self-preservation which God has planted in the heart of the race, in order to preserve the integrity of its organism, enables them to *feel* it, and to shrink, with overpowering disgust if not of terror, from the approach of such a danger.

No matron in the South ever heard the names of Garrison or John Brown uttered without clasping more closely the child on her bosom, not from any personal fear of these men, but from that instinct of self-preservation with which God has endowed her, and which taught her that the "idea" connected with these names involved the extinction of her blood.

The reader may understand this instinct by comparing the fate of St. Domingo with that of Jamaica. The French Democrats of 1792, in the National Convention, ignorant of the nature of the negro, and, of course, supposing him a man like themselves, decreed "impartial freedom" for the six

hundred thousand "slaves;" but the twenty five thousand whites of that island resisted this monstrous crime to the uttermost. The result was that the negroes, stimulated by British and outside agents, and led on by mongrel chiefs, exterminated the whites not one man, woman or child being left on that island to tell the tale of their destruction. About the same number of whites in Jamaica resisted "freedom" (peaceably) but at last were overcome, not by physical force, but by the corrupt and perverse opinions of England embodied in the Parliament, and the result of "impartial freedom" is social equality, amalgamation, mongrelism, and the rapidly approaching extinction of the white blood. A few years hence this hideous process must complete itself, and the white element as utterly disappear from Jamaica as it has from Hayti. The sole difference is the mode of extinction; in one immediate and universal massacre, in the other "impartial freedom," amalgamation, mongrelism and disappearance of the lesser element; and between these modes who would not prefer the former to the latter, or, who would not prefer that his children or his posterity should be slaughtered at once, rather than gradually rot out through the veins of the negro?

It is an instinctive perception of this—a seemingly blind, but wise instinct—which the mad creatures fancy "predjudice against color," that render the "anti-slavery" leaders of the North so faithless to their own professed belief, and who, doubtless, would prefer death for a son or a daughter in preference to the practical application of that belief. But what punishment can be imagined that would equal the deserts of those people, who, safe at home amid a homo-

genous population, would force upon their own brethren in actual juxtaposition with four millions of negroes, doctrines or notions, which, rather than practice themselves, they would prefer death, or, rather than they should be lived out in their own households, would, doubtless prefer the massacre and utter extinction of these households? But wicked, monstrously, awfully wicked as these blind creatures are, or, rather, would be if they had any knowledge, even the smallest atom, of that which they labor to accomplish, there are others^s that posterity will hold to a more fearful account still. These are they who organize a political party in the North to get possession of the Federal government, and to use *that* as an instrument as they say, for the "ultimate extinction of slavery," or, in other words, who seek to use the common government, the government of Virginia, the Carolinas, &c., for inflicting a doom on the people of those States, which, rather than suffer themselves, they would prefer death! Fortunately for the credit of the present generation of Americans, these people are ignorant, blindly and utterly unconscious of the crimes they seek to commit, and posterity will therefore, in mercy draw a veil over this horrible phase in the national life, and strive to blot it out forever from the national records. Summing up the foregoing remarks, it will be plain to the reader then that the negro, being a widely different and subordinate race or species from our own, is in his normal condition when in a subordinate social position as in the South; that the presence of this subordinate race or natural substratum in American society, which gives us clearer views of our own natural equality and prevents those artificial distinctions of class which so disfigure

and degrade the nations of Europe, is the cause, or main cause, of the success of our Democratic institutions; that in this fact is found the British hostility to "negro slavery," which, being in constant and irreconcilable antagonism to *their* system of class distinctions, necessarily impels them into ceaseless warfare on it; that this hostility, though embracing all of monarchical Europe, would not be or need not be dangerous to us, so long as our own people were uncorrupted by European teachings, and hostile influences, but when, accepting these false teachings instead of the results of their own every day experience, and large numbers of them proceed to form a party in the North to impose their wild delusion of suppositious *black-white* men and imaginary slavery on the South, they not only violate the spirit of the Federal compact, but they are blindly striving to destroy themselves, their government, their Republican institutions and civilization itself, as well as the welfare and happiness of the people of the South; that, as no more extension of slavery and "impartial freedom" with negroes, would necessarily transform and deform one-half of the Republic into the condition of Mexico, Central America, &c., and end in the ultimate extinction of the negro element, it would, therefore, in comparison, be vastly more humane to slaughter these negroes at once than thus to doom them to gradual or "ultimate extinction," through the tender mercies of the "friends of freedom;" and, finally, that this monstrous, world-wide and deplorable delusion, in which are wrapped up such hideous and fearful possibilities being based on the fundamental falsehood that the negro is a man like ourselves except in color, all that has been done, written or

said in the past, or that may be attempted in the future, *must* be equally false, fatal and deplorable, and in conflict with the eternal order ordained by the Almighty Creator.

PART II.

THE DESTRUCTION OF SOCIETY.

The foregoing pages were written five years ago, when the Abolitionists were raising those stupendous armies for invading the southern States, under the mask of a war for the Union, that have since worked out such deplorable results.

Never before in the history of mankind has there been so much evil accomplished as within the past five years, or a human delusion that has dragged after it such tremendous consequences as that of *Abolition*. The northern States were combined against the southern, and Abraham Lincoln was elected, in 1860, to "abolish slavery," that is, to force the negroes of the South into the condition of white people. The Abolitionists did not intend to directly trample down State lines, or they could not have had any northern support, but the Lincoln party was formed for the one sole purpose of mongrelizing the country, and they sought to use the Federal Government as their instrument for the accomplishment of their mission. No one will dispute this assertion—the Abolition party that elected Abraham Lincoln by a combination of northern States, was formed for the sole purpose of the abolition of the normal condition of the negro, and sought possession of the government as its instrument to effect its object,

while how it was done, or the length of time it might require to reach that object, is of subordinate, almost trifling importance. True, it seems that the rule of the northern over the southern States, or, in other words, the virtual if not formal overthrow of the great American principle of self-government established in 1776, and which for nearly a century worked out such unparalleled prosperity to many millions of people, was itself a stupendous crime, but as this might be restored again, the *means* sought by the Lincoln party were of very subordinate moment, while the *end* or *object* of that party struck at the heart and very life of society itself, and rendered self-government, republicanism, civilization, indeed American Christianity, an unsightly mass of putrefaction. The southern States, therefore, seceded to save society in fact, while in form they professed to defend the right of self-government. Indeed, the two things were inseparable to a certain point, for the Abolitionists were compelled to overthrow self-government before they could reach the social question involved. But this they could do in substance, if not in form, through a sectional combination and monopoly of the common government, and whatever the professions, the motives, or the mistakes of the southern leaders, the southern masses were impelled by the instinct of self-preservation to resist the Abolition aggression.

The vast armies raised in the North, under the mask of a "war for the Union," were, from the first gun fired at Sumter, wielded to break down the outward barriers of southern society, but at the end of the first year the mask was pushed aside, and the "Eman-

cipation Proclamation" struck down both the right of self-government and social order from the Potomac to the Rio Grande, and until the surrender of General Lee, all this mighty mass of brute force was used to effect the object or mission of the Abolition party. That mission, abolition of the distinction of race, and equality of unequal races, of course can never be accomplished unless Abraham Lincoln's decree can reverse the order of nature, and "reform" the work of the Creator, but in their blind and monstrous madness they have torn four millions of negroes from their normal condition, and while thus destroying the productive forces of the South, fastened a debt of four thousand millions on the producing classes of the North. Nor do they halt, nor can they halt here; an inexorable necessity drives them on until the Abolition madness is exploded, or the nation is hopelessly ruined, and social anarchy and disintegration close the scene so grandly and auspiciously opened by Washington in 1776.

What wonderful madness, what stupendous lunacy, what audacious impiety, what nameless and immeasurable sin, what devilish and monstrous effort to change the order of nature, and "reform" the work of God—to *abolish the distinction of race, and equalize those He has made unequal!*

If the great American principle of self-government were overthrown in one half of the country, and a debt of four thousand millions fastened on the other half to "abolish" the color of the negro, and force whites and negroes to have the same color, then all would see the enormous crime against God as well as His creatures. Or if all

this enormous waste of life and treasure had been expended in an effort to abolish the order of nature, and force white men and negroes to have the same physical structure, then its enormous and awful folly might be easily grasped. And if all the blood and treasure of the past five years had been expended to "abolish" their mental natures, and force them to manifest the same mental qualities, then surely the most stupid and besotted would see the unapproachable crimes of Abolition. But the efforts of the past five years have been made to "abolish" *all* these things, and force thirty millions of the great master race of mankind to live the same life, and "enjoy the same freedom" with four millions of the most subordinate of all the races, and multitudes of blind and besotted people, who deny that they are Abolitionists, have aided in this monstrous work of national suicide, without even the poor excuse of actual lunacy

It should be a self-evident truth to all Americans that human society could not exist on a basis of equality for *unequal* races, for if it could, if the Lincoln proclamation could be carried out, and society continue to exist in the South, then Abraham Lincoln would dominate over the Almighty Creator of course. But not only is this self-evident to a sane mind, but it is demonstrated every day, and all about us, all over this continent.

Massachusetts assumes that whites and negroes should be forced to a common condition, or the same liberty, and the Census returns show that she murders them at the rate of seven per cent. The mortality of the whites is not seen, but as they are the criminals and the negroes the victims, of course God

punishes them accordingly. But this is seen in Jamaica, where the whites, abdicating their higher manhood, go down, or try to go down, to a level with the subordinate race, and they rot out and die even faster than the negro in Massachusetts.

Whenever a population or community no longer increases or multiplies itself, then society is dead, and it is only a question of time when the individuals disappear. Thus society, so far as the negro element is concerned, is dead in Massachusetts, and the white element in Jamaica, and though external order be preserved, it is only a question of time when the individuals perish. Taking the *facts*, therefore, that stand out before us, it is certain that within the next hundred years there will not be a single individual negro in Massachusetts, or a single white person in Jamaica. Multitudes of thoughtless or ignorant people say they "don't care anything for niggers," who, if thrust out of *their* condition, will "die out," like the Indians, without the remotest thought of the evil done to themselves by this "free" negroism. And yet it should be obvious enough that while the negroes die out, a still greater evil is done to themselves.

The white man, with his higher nature, has more to lose, to feel, to suffer, by this crime of "impartial freedom," or this common condition. For example: a white family that cultivate the acquaintance and become the intimate friends of a negro family on a basis of equality, will lose more and suffer more, and be utterly more degraded than the negro.

We sometimes see the disgusting spectacle of a white woman mated

with a negro, and instinctively regard her as vastly more repulsive than the negress. It is in the order of Providence that the whites who abdicate their manhood, and degrade themselves to a forbidden and unnatural level with negroes, must be punished to even a greater extent than their hapless victims, and therefore though the evils inflicted on the negroes of Massachusetts are so great that they are rapidly destroyed, it is certain that a still larger amount of evil is inflicted on the whites themselves. There being a million of them, however, and only ten thousand negroes, it is not seen, indeed the evil inflicted on the negro is not seen, but on the contrary, the lunatic and besotted people of that State claim, and no doubt really believe, that they treat the negro man more kindly than do any others in the land. Alas! alas! for human madness and folly! Massachusetts forces her hapless negro population to live under laws that within a century will doom them to utter extinction, and in view of the miseries of this gradual death, it would be a mercy to mow them down with cannon, and finish them at once rather than subject them to this lingering and protracted misery for a few years.

But, we repeat, it is in the order of Providence and the nature of things, that the authors of the wrongs inflicted on the negroes of Massachusetts, &c., shall suffer still more than their victims, and were their numbers equal, and some outside power kept the peace, it would, of course, be only a question of time when both would utterly perish from the earth, but the last human creature left on the soil of Massachusetts would no doubt be a negro.

Society, as regards the negro ele-

ment, does not exist in the North, for the Census shows that it perishes at the rate of four per cent., and it is only a question of years when the individuals utterly disappear. And as the white has so much more to suffer, and moreover, is the author of this monstrous crime of "impartial freedom," if their numbers approximated, all would rot out and utterly perish from God's fair earth, but the whites the soonest; those people who so flippantly dream of getting rid of the "free negro like the Indian," may see the enormous and boundless crime they, too, are guilty of, when they fail to protest against the madness and folly, and impiety, and national suicide of the time. But Massachusetts, not content with her crimes, strives to force South Carolina to become a party to them, and takes possession of the common government created for their common good, and perverts it into an instrument to force the latter to do as she does, and compel beings whom God has created unequal to equalize, and by sheer brute force of the northern masses, under a mask of a "war for the Union," has torn four millions of negroes from their normal condition, and thus overthrown social order from the Potomac to the Gulf of Mexico.

There is a vast multitude of blind and ignorant people who dream of some impossible condition where negroes are neither minors nor citizens, neither have *their* normal condition nor that of the white man, but there can be no such thing—the Abolitionists must either advance or recede, must march on to the utter destruction and death of the nation, or die themselves, indeed must make a citizen of the negro and rule the country by military des-

potism, or abandon it to save their lives from the indignant and outraged people. If the former, if the negro is to be permanently removed from the control and protection of the white people of the southern States, then but two things are possible, *amalgamation* or *extermination*, for though they finally come to substantially the same thing, there is a wide divergence for a season. It is difficult to fancy the heightened and glorious people of the South ever becoming so degraded as to mix their blood with the thick puddle that stagnates in the veins of the sensual and animal-approximating negro, but if the "abolition of slavery" is permanent in the South, then amalgamation of blood as well as condition is indeed a necessity. If we can suppose such a thing there, as the continued ascendancy of the Abolitionists in the North, or of that monstrous delusion that strives to abolish the normal condition of the negro, and which for five years past has ruled the country, the following consequences *must* result :

A party, or rather a gang of degraded whites, stimulated by northern Abolitionists, will first demand "civil rights" for the negroes, as already seen in Tennessee, and even in Virginia, and then that some negroes shall vote, and finally their own necessities, as well as the influence of their northern allies, will demand "equal suffrage." Indeed, in the nature of things there is no escape. The people who submit to the "abolition of slavery" *will* submit to "civil rights," and if to the latter, *must* submit to political equality, and political equality necessarily involves social equality and amalgamation of blood as well as condition. The "abolition of slavery" is, there-

fore, *if* submitted to, amalgamation, or in other words, if the negro is forced out of his condition, he *must* be forced into that of the whites, wherever and whenever numbers approximate.

Here, in the North we have not reached that result, because the natural order was preserved in the South, and their numbers were small, but if abolition is permanent, then amalgamation of blood is a necessity as unavoidable as death, indeed an *effect* that *must* follow the *cause*. True, nature cannot be so outraged, or our kind so corrupted and degraded as to be universal; the white woman will always shrink from mating with a typical or real negro, but the mixed breeds will readily mix together, and the general process of amalgamation be just as rapid as if direct.

A certain kind of order may be preserved in South Carolina, for example, through this hideous process of amalgamation, but *society* would be dead from the instant that whites and negroes were forced into a common condition. As the thing stands now, the negro forced from *his* condition, but not yet forced into that of the white man, society is dead as regards the negro element, and the individuals are rapidly dying, and whatever may now be the fact as regards the whites, from the hour that they accept the negro in *their* condition they too will decline in number, and begin to die out.

As observed, amalgamation will secure a certain kind of harmony, peace and order, but no industry or production of wealth. Like the mongrel populations south of us, they will work and fish, and hunt, and live on in some miserable way, and while some few in-

dividuals may acquire wealth and distinction, the great mass will become poor and more miserable every year, until in the course of time they utterly perish from the earth.

The natural distinction fashioned by the hand of God, thus sinfully ignored, of course the few who have wealth, education, &c., or other accidental advantages, whether they be whites, mongrels, or negroes, will strive to render them a basis or badge of distinction, indeed it is an unavoidable certainty, if not necessity, that the natural distinctions of race disregarded, those of class will follow. It is thus that European monarchists have so long labored to "abolish slavery" in America, for instinct, if nothing else, taught them that the distinctions of race debauched and broken down, monarchy would become even more certain than in the Old World. All this degradation, rottenness, and social disintegration of the South would, of course, react on the North, and involve the whole social fabric from the St. Lawrence to the Gulf.

Just now the "loyal women" who raised a nigger regiment for the war, and thus took the first step to amalgamate, would shrink with overwhelming disgust from the result of their own crimes, but when a Senator in Congress from South Carolina, with perhaps only a quarter or seven-eighths negro blood, asks for their daughters' hand, the "loyal" Fifth Avenuer will promptly accept it of course. Indeed the wealthy and educated classes of the North, as now in the first step, will take its last far sooner than the working classes, and if this nation is destined to commit this monstrous social suicide, the "loyal lady" of Fifth

Avenue will precede Bridget in the end as she does in the beginning of this devil's work of mixing with negroes. But though the educated classes would soonest rise above the "prejudices of color," and mate and mix with negroes more readily than the working classes, nevertheless the general result would be to depress and degrade the masses to an extent that would render self-government utterly impracticable. "Color" no longer a distinction, of course the mere human accidents, wealth, education, vanity and pride, as in Europe, would become badges of superiority, and the degraded masses would be infinitely less capable of liberty than they are now in Europe. All who had anything, whether whites or mulattoes, or negroes, would cry out for a "strong government," as we now see in Mexico, &c., and the many, degraded, effete, and miserable, would of course be incapable of resistance. Indeed the settled and orderly monarchism of Europe would even be impossible, for the masses would not only be still more abject and miserable slaves than the most degraded populations of the old world, but the large admixture of the negro element, at the South especially, would be an obstacle, and disorganizing material, as in Mexico, &c., that renders stable government of any kind impracticable. The whole American mass would be simply hordes of emasculated mongrels, even meaner and more degraded than those of Mexico, and military despotism would alone secure even an approach to public order. The country would most likely become a conquest to some European power, for the instinct of modern civilization, as now in Mexico, would de-

mand something like stable government, and as they themselves would not only be incapable of liberty, or of republican institutions, but incapable of even supporting a stable monarchy, European powers would no doubt divide it between them, and govern these fragments of diseased populations by military force. If the North could secede from the South, it might save itself from this hideous and loathsome doom, but as it was the great criminal, and carried on a war of four years for the "Union," that union with death, by an inexorable law, fixed forever in the heart of things, would needs become its punishment.

In the course of centuries, this mighty mass of corruption would be sloughed off, and the race relieved from its horrid burden, would recover its health again, and with it the capacity of self-government, liberty, and progressive civilization.

The hybrid or mulatto of the fourth generation is as incapable of reproduction as the mule, and there being thirty millions of whites and only four millions of negroes, of course a time would come when every atom of negro blood would be extinct. The negro element would begin, as it already has begun, to perish the instant it is thrust from its normal condition, or into so-called freedom, and an equal number of whites will begin to perish from the instant they assent to "civil rights" to all, or in other words, to a common condition with negroes. The time needed for the utter extinction of the negro element, and the recovery of whites from this huge disease, cannot be determined, but probably the whole mighty mass of filth and misery would be sloughed off within a couple of centuries, and

we would then get back to the condition of 1860, so far as the whites are concerned. What a horrible doom for the people who began a national existence so bravely and auspiciously under Washington, and for nearly a century presented such a grand spectacle to the world! As regards the negroes, if they could all be collected at one place, it would be an infinite mercy to mow the four millions down with cannon, and exterminate them at once, rather than doom them to "freedom," "civil rights," amalgamation, and final extinction, through two or three centuries of this huge experiment of equalizing beings whom God made unequal.

The whites having more to suffer, endowed with a higher nature, and entrusted by the Creator with the care and guidance of these child-people, and themselves the blind and sinful cause of this negro extinction, must, in the nature of things, suffer vastly more than their hapless victims, and therefore when we reflect that it would be a mighty compassion to slaughter the negroes at once rather than doom them to such a fate, we may get some feeble glimpses of the evils inflicted on ourselves. Of course no words in our language can express, even if the mind could grasp, the punishment brought upon our descendants by abolition, or attempted abolition, of the distinction of "color;" but one thing is plain enough, an equal number with their victims would needs perish in this impious and horrible effort to reverse the order of nature and equalize races. The ignorant and besotted wretch who says he only wants to "abolish slavery," and does not mean to mate or mix his blood with negroes, is, if pos-

sible, a viler beast than he who will say, as some of the hideous lunatics do, that he is willing to meet the question, and mate his children with negroes. It is simply the same thing, the same hideous impiety and obscene sin throughout. *If* the negro in this country is ever "free," he will have "civil rights," and *if* the latter, political equality, with its consequences of social equality, and amalgamation of blood as well as condition. Or in other words, if the negro is thrust from *his* condition into ours, from a minor to a citizen, then amalgamation, rottenness and social disintegration and death to American nationality, as well as civilization, is a necessity that can no more be avoided than death that follows a mortal disease of the individual body. But the southern people *will not* amalgamate with negroes, and therefore *if* the Abolition lunacy is not exploded in the North, there will be a conflict of race, as in San Domingo, ending in the extermination of the negro element, where the white man can labor, and the abandonment of the semi-tropical coast region to Africanism.

No—"equal freedom," harmony, amalgamation of such widely different beings, can never be—the descendants of the men of 1776 will never commit such a loathsome *felo de se* as to amalgamate, or rather strive to amalgamate with negroes ; indeed it is an organic impossibility. God has made one different and superior, the other different and inferior ; the human law in accord with these organic *facts*, fashioned and fixed by the hand of the Creator, they have both been happy, and rapidly multiplied their kind. And if an outside power, as in San Domingo, forces

them to an unnatural and forbidden level, an organic necessity just as imperative as a law of gravitation must needs impel them to resist it, or, in other words, to exterminate each other. True, we see individual instances where a white man or woman becomes so corrupted, their instincts or prejudices so diseased, in a word, the nature God gave them so debauched, that they fraternize with the negro, and the nature of the latter so perverted that they assent to this hideous fraternity. And we sometimes see considerable populations, as the Spaniards and Portuguese of this continent, so degraded, perverted and wicked, that they equalize and amalgamate with the lower races, and rot out gradually rather than perish at once, as did the French in San Domingo. But this is not possible with masses, and certainly not with American masses. It is only when both whites and negroes are utterly corrupt and utterly degraded, so degraded that they no longer respond to the instincts God gave them, so debauched, mean and miserable, that nature is dead in them, that "impartial freedom" is seemingly possible, and as no considerable number of white people ever did, or indeed ever could reach this diseased condition, it is forever impossible that amalgamation can happen in the South. Should Congress, the President, all the Legislatures of the northern States, and those of the South at the back of them, enact equal laws for whites and negroes in the southern States, it would fail as absolutely as enactments against the law of gravitation to force the whites and negroes to exist under the same condition, or in other words, to "enjoy the same freedom." Their organic

structure different, their instincts, wants, necessities, in a word, their natures different by the act of the Creator, and therefore of necessity designed by Him for different conditions of existence, of course they cannot by any human power or contrivance be made to live in the same condition, for if this were possible, Abraham Lincoln would be greater than the Creator, and the Abolition "reformers" wiser and more powerful than the Almighty himself. Hence, when the French Convention decreed "emancipation" in Hayti, extermination followed, of course and of necessity. It did not begin with the negroes any more than with the whites. It was spontaneous, instinctive, unavoidable, an organic and eternal necessity inherent in the nature of things, and followed that eternal decree as naturally as water runs down hill, or that a man's hand is burned when thrust into the fire. The negroes being on their own ground, and in vast excess, exterminated the whites; but if the circumstances had been different, if it had been in the temperate latitudes, of course the negro would have been exterminated. There were hideous and revolting practices among the negro bands; bodies were mutilated, pregnant women ripped open and infants torn from them and chopped to pieces, not from any deliberate or designed cruelty in the negroes, but from a gross and apathetic nature that could not feel the suffering, and whose sole desire was to exterminate the race thus thrust into unnatural relation to itself. Every man, woman and child in that horrid butchery, which so shocked and sickened Christendom, were murdered, not by the blind and maddened negroes, but by those who forced that horrible

fate on San Domingo, just as every victim of the coming slaughter in this land will be and must be murdered by the atrocious monsters who are now forcing a similar fate on the South. If the monstrous Abolition madness, therefore, continues to rule the country, and the southern people cannot become so degraded and lost as to affiliate and amalgamate with the negroes, this awful alternative of extermination of course must follow.

The whites, largely outnumbering the negroes, will drive them into the cotton, Coast and Gulf regions, and though they might easily exterminate them there too, they will not do so, for unable themselves to till the soil, all those fertile and beautiful regions must needs be abandoned to the negroes.

The negro cannot be a laborer or producer without the control and guidance of the white man. It is not a mere matter of instinctive indolence, as many ignorant people suppose, but an actual absence of capacity, thought, brain, that renders it as impossible to practice self denial to secure a future good, as with white children. A beneficent Creator placed the negro within the tropics, where there is no winter, where fruits are abundant, and the earth produces spontaneously, and where, in perfect accord with external circumstances, the negro, though a useless and non-advancing heathen, fulfils the primal command and multiplies his kind. But in the northern and temperate latitudes this negro, torn from the protection of the white man, and forced to look out for himself, perishes as naturally and necessarily as children must if thrust from their homes. Individual instances may occur, and do occur, where both ne-

groes and children take care of themselves, and sometimes even support others, and indeed acquire considerable properties, but as a mass; or in the aggregate, they *must* become extinct, as the Census returns show us they do become extinct. Driven from the temperate latitudes into the Coast and Gulf region, with its tropical and semi-tropical climate, it is wholly a matter of conjecture what might be their future. Of course they would decline as they do in the tropics, everywhere where they are no longer protected by masters, but relieved entirely from the burdens imposed on them in Jamaica, &c., they would have a chance for life, and to multiply themselves in exact proportion as they were relieved from the presence of "missionaries," schools, &c., imposed on them by foolish and ignorant white people. But whatever the future of the negro, the laws of climate and industrial adaptation utterly forbid the labor of white men in the South proper. The white man, as the master and protector of the negro, or indeed as a mechanic working in the shade of a shop, can labor, can preserve health, longevity, all the energies that nature endowed him with, under the equator as well as in Boston or New York, but he can no more become a tiller of the soil or producer of cotton, sugar, or other tropical products, than he can reverse a law of gravitation, or change the color of his skin. God has made all His works perfect, and adapted men and animals to certain centres of existence, and certain *necessities* of existence, and therefore those ignorant and besotted people who fancy that "negroes will die out like the Indians," and white men or "Yankee" machinery will take

their places and grow more cotton than ever before, are just as absurd in their folly as those children who pester their nurses for the moon. If it were true that human invention or contrivance could "abolish" the Indian and negro of this continent, and grow cotton, sugar, &c., by white labor, why then the Almighty would be overreached and outdone, and rendered quite superfluous, if not indeed contemptible, in comparison with Abraham Lincoln and the "reformers" of our time.

The soil, its natural products, the climate, and the human means to secure these products, are eternally and necessarily united, and it is physically as impossible to grow cotton, sugar, coffee, rice, &c., without the labor of the negro, as it is to grow oranges in Canada, or to obtain ice from Africa. And without the guidance, control, mastership of the white man, it is physically as impossible to have that labor, or in other words, that the "free" negro will grow those products, as it is to change his color, or to cultivate cotton with infants.

Of course, in the northern regions white men do, and will continue to grow little patches of cotton for their own use, and some negroes with the habit of labor will be available for a year or two, but the cotton of commerce, that which the world needs, and on the production of which the States so rapidly expanded into a first-class power, and which in its results worked out more good to human kind, and brought more happiness to millions of God's creatures than all the schools and colleges of Christendom, *must* have for its production the labor of the negro and the brain of the white man to control and guide it as hitherto, or that production is a physical im-

possibility, as absolute as the nonreversion of the law of gravitation. The brain of one and muscle of the other, the intelligence of the superior and labor of the inferior, in a word, the relation that fools and ignoramuses call *slavery*, is the *cause*, and cotton production the *effect*, and with the abolition of that cause, of course the effect vanishes forever, or until the monstrous madness of the day is exploded, and reason is restored again. God created the negro within the tropics, and adapted his nature and wants to the external circumstances that surround him, but left to himself, he not only does not labor or grow the products of those regions, as we witness in San Domingo, but cannot any more than any other child, and therefore the control and guidance of the white man abolished, the great centre of our continent must become another Africa, of course. And the Indian or native of the mainland, instead of "dying out like the Indian," as so many ignorant and besotted people prate of, was also created for a purpose, and is the natural industrial element of that mighty table land which stretches from the borders of Texas to Brazil.

The writer of this *knows*, not merely from a scientific investigation of the industrial adaptation of races, but from his own experience, that the negro cannot become a laborer on the table lands of Mexico, Central America, &c., and believes, from the limited experience gained in the Mexican war, that it is just as physically impossible that white men can ever labor in those vast regions. Indeed it may be assumed that though the white man is rapidly "dying out" in all that mighty region, and the Indian rapidly collapsing into

his original savagery, as with the negro in the islands and *terra caliente*, a time must come when the specific nature of these races will be understood, and American civilization, industry, order and human happiness, will be restored. But this may be far distant, and assuming that the present ignorance prevails, that the monstrous madness of one class that strives to equalize races, and the mean ignorance of another, that God has made a mistake in creating Indians and negroes, and they will die out, assuming, in short, that the so-called "abolition of slavery" is permanent, and the whites of the South refusing to harmonize or amalgamate with the negroes, then Hayti and San Domingo, and Central America, will be brought up to somewhere say about 36.30. If the natural order of society were permitted, its natural development gone on as it has in these States for the last hundred years, a large portion of the territories lying below 36.30 would no doubt become the home of white labor, but even if the negroes were extinct it could not become so now. Vast forests, swamps, &c., must be gotten rid of, before malaria is sufficiently neutralized, even in the higher lands of the territory south of 36.30, and therefore the labor of white men is out of the question *now* and *forever*, until cleared up and rendered available by the labor of negroes.

Hitherto we acquired southern territory; the planter with his negroes migrated to more fertile soils, and for the negro more genial climes, and this advanced guard of American civilization left a vacuum behind it which was filled by northern populations or hosts of European emigrants, who resuscitated

tated these lands, and all were alike benefited. This great law of industrial adaptation, which in time should carry our negro population within the tropics and tropicoid regions of the Gulf and South Atlantic Coast, is now violently interrupted, and presuming that the white people of the South will not fraternize or amalgamate with the negroes, and the latter, driven from the region where white labor is practicable, the entire region south of 36.30 must be assumed as certain to be surrendered to the latter.

A large portion of Virginia, of North and even South Carolina may be held by the whites, but the best portion, the great fertile and productive portion, indeed that "South" which, within the last forty years, has furnished all the great products that formed the staples of our foreign commerce, that built up New York, &c., with its luxurious palaces, and costly churches, *must* be surrendered to the negroes, and of course and of necessity become what Jamaica and San Domingo are now. Even tide-water Virginia and Maryland, the fertile and once beautiful peninsula lying between the James and York Rivers, must be abandoned to Africanism. It may not be in a year or a score of years, or indeed entirely worked out in half a century, but an inexorable law fixed by the hand of God cannot be changed or modified by "Yankee" invention or "reform," and therefore the entire coast region south of the Delaware Bay is doomed to become a wilderness again, and if not restored to the aboriginals, given over to a destiny equally useless to American civilization. The negroes, driven from the regions where white labor is practicable, and the

white man abandoning the regions where it was not to the negro, and the latter rapidly collapsing into his original Africanism, all the country south of 36.30 substantially will become and must become what Hayti is now, and as utterly lost to American civilization as if swallowed up by an earthquake. Indeed, if the Almighty should interpose His beneficent power, and annihilate the whole country south of 36.30, it would in comparison be an almost inconceivable good to American civilization. And in view of this doom, this awful ruin we are now threatened with, which by the act of Abraham Lincoln and his mad followers has brought or will bring San Domingo, and finally Africa, up to the line 36.30, we should always remember that Jefferson Davis and his friends offered to recognize Lincoln as the Chief Magistrate of the whole country on the simple condition that he would accept the Crittenden Compromise, and stand by the Dred Scott decision south of 36.30.

What might be or may be the fate of the negroes thus left, as in San Domingo, to drift back to their native Africanism, it is not necessary to conjecture, for it must needs be conjecture, as there is no experience to guide us. That they would rapidly tend to extinction is probable, for the winter, even in these semi-tropical regions is somewhat severe, and the negro capacity utterly forbids provision for it; but be this as it may, he would no doubt stand the winter better than the white man could, as a laborer, the fierce heats of the summer and the deadly malaria of the autumn of the South. The truth is, neither could permanently live there isolated from the other, and it is only in their natural relation of

master and minor, or so-called slavery, that the vast and fertile "South" can be permanently inhabited, or made to contribute to the well-being and happiness of God's creatures.

With this prospect before us, of San Domingo brought up to the line of 36. 30, what is to become of the great republic we have so rejoiced in? True, New York, Baltimore, and Philadelphia may be the outlets of the great West, but the country south of 36.30 given over to the negroes, all the great ports and cities south of Baltimore must needs become what Port au Prince, &c., have become in Hayti. But even a greater calamity than this loss of territory confronts us. Without cotton, without sugar, rice, without any of those great staples, only to be produced by the labor of the negro, and that labor only possible when controlled by the white master, where are the materials for export, and the consequent basis of foreign commerce? Once or twice in fifty years there may be a failure in the grain crop of Europe, and our own cereals in demand, and even if the Territories and Pacific States were as full of gold as our speculators pretend, it would help but little to create commerce. The great staples of the South abolished, New York must dwindle down to the size of Philadelphia, indeed all our great cities, built up on foreign commerce, must diminish in precise proportion to the destruction of the causes of their rapid growth and unparalleled prosperity.

But save New York perhaps, New England, with its vast manufacturing industry, would become the greatest ruin, and with the destruction of

labor in the South, it must needs become a desert again, and its people forced to emigrate to the North-West to save themselves from starvation.

Here, then, must be the final end, the unavoidable result, the inexorable necessity, the unescapable doom of the American people, if they refuse to amalgamate with the negro, and drive him from their midst into the regions where white men cannot labor, and permit him to drift back to Africanism.

What may be or might be the condition of the country, or the amount of population or political system fifty years hence, when confined to the North, West, and Middle States, without cotton or sugar, or indeed anything to export or to create a foreign commerce, it is not necessary to conjecture. But as fraternity and amalgamation with the negro element would not only involve social suicide, but a suicide monstrous and abhorrent beyond expression, transforming our descendants into hordes of disgusting and diseased mongrels, to become a conquest of European powers, extermination were infinitely preferable to amalgamation, of course. And these horrible alternatives are now impending over us, one or the other as certain as death, and as unescapable as the grave; for though ignorance and folly may fancy otherwise, Abolition ends, and only can end, in fraternizing or antagonizing with the negro, and every man, and woman too, in this broad land that accept the abolition of the normal condition of the negro element, necessarily accepts its consequences, *amalgamation or extermination*, for the angels themselves could not avoid them.

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7
Anti-Abolition Tracts.---No. 2.

FREE NEGROISM;

OR,

RESULTS OF EMANCIPATION

IN THE

North, and the West India Islands.

WITH

STATISTICS OF THE DECAY OF COMMERCE—IDLENESS OF
THE NEGRO—HIS RETURN TO SAVAGEISM, AND THE
EFFECT OF EMANCIPATION UPON THE FARMING,
MECHANICAL AND LABORING CLASSES.

SECOND EDITION, REVISED AND ENLARGED

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1866.

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EMANCIPATION AND ITS RESULTS.

INTRODUCTORY.

GIGANTIC efforts are now being made to convince the people of the North that the overthrow of the present relations of the black and white races in the South, or what is mistakenly called "the Abolition of Slavery," would be a great benefit to all concerned—a benefit to the white race, to the negro race, and a grand step in the progress of civilization and Christianity. Now the simple TRUTH is the exact opposite of this. To overthrow the present relation of the races is to injure both the white man and the negro, and to inflict a deadly blow upon the cause of humanity, civilization, and Christianity. We only need to approach this subject in a spirit of candid inquiry, and to bring it to the touchstone of FACT. It is proposed to show in the following pages—

First. The effects of emancipation in the Northern States in the increase of crime, pauperism, and vice among the freed negroes;

Second. Its results in the West-India Islands, where it has ruined production, destroyed commerce, and where the negro is fast relapsing into his original African savagism;

Third. The effect of Free Negroism upon the commerce, wealth, and business of the world, and especially upon the *white laboring and producing classes*, in producing a scarcity of tropical productions, and a consequent increase of price, thus allowing Negro Idleness to tax WHITE LABOR.

The inherent right or wrong of any

measure may be fairly determined by its effect. That which produces crime, pauperism, immorality, poverty, and misery can not in the nature of things be right. Theories vanish before the stern arbiter of FACTS, and to that unerring tribunal we appeal.

PART I.

FREE NEGROISM IN THE NORTH.

SOON after the close of the Revolutionary War, a few individuals, mostly Quakers, commenced efforts for the emancipation of negroes then held as so-called slaves in all the States, except Massachusetts and Pennsylvania. It was a purely philanthropic movement, and had no more connection with politics than have the various missionary societies now in existence for diffusing Christianity in Burmah or China. Several States were induced to follow the example of Massachusetts and Pennsylvania, namely, Connecticut, Rhode Island, New-Hampshire, Vermont, New-York, and New-Jersey. In New-Jersey and New-York emancipation was gradual, and though provided for in the former State in 1784, and in the latter in 1799, "slavery" did not entirely disappear until 1820, '27. Here emancipation ceased, and did it ever occur to any one to inquire why, all of a sudden, this should be so? If it were a benefit to take from the negro the care and guidance of white men, why did not all the rest of the States follow the example? This question is better answered by the detail of a few facts.

It was not without grave apprehensions as to the result that emancipation had been inaugurated, and it was only nine years after Pennsylvania had set the example in 1780, that Benjamin Franklin issued an Appeal for aid to his society "to form a plan for the promotion of industry, intelligence, and morality among the free blacks." How far Franklin's benevolent scheme had fallen short of his anticipations, may be judged of from the fact that forty-seven years after Pennsylvania had passed her act of emancipation, *one third* of the convicts in her penitentiaries were negroes or mulattoes! Some of the other States were even in a worse condition, *one half* of the convicts in the penitentiary of New-Jersey being freed negroes. But Massachusetts was almost as badly off, as appears from the report of the "Boston Prison Discipline Society."

This benevolent Association included among its members, Rev. Francis Wayland, Rev. Austin Edwards, Rev. Leonard Woods, Rev. William Jenks, Rev. B. B. Wisner, Rev. Edward Beecher, Lewis Tappan, Esq., John Tappan, Esq., Hon. John Bliss, and Hon. Samuel M. Hopkins. In the First Annual Report of the Society, dated June 2d, 1826, they enter into an investigation "of the progress of crime, with the causes of it," from which we make the following extract:

"DEGRADED CHARACTER OF THE COLORED POPULATION. — The first cause, existing in society, of the frequency and increase of crime is the *degraded character of the colored population*. The facts, which are gathered from the Penitentiaries, to show how great a proportion of the convicts are colored, even in those States where the colored population is small, show most strikingly the connection between ignorance and vice."

The Report proceeds to sustain its assertions by statistics, which prove, that, in Massachusetts, where the free colored people constituted *one seventy-fourth* part of the population, they supplied *one sixth* part of the convicts in her Penitentiary; that in New-York, where the free colored people

constituted *one thirty-fifth* part of the population, they supplied more than *one fourth* part of the convicts; that in Connecticut and Pennsylvania, where the colored people constituted *one thirty-fourth* part of the population, they supplied more than *one third* part of the convicts; and that in New-Jersey, where the colored people constituted *one thirteenth* part of the population, they supplied more than *one third* part of the convicts.

In the second annual report of the Society, dated June 1st, 1827, the subject is again alluded to, and tables are given, showing more fully the degraded character of the freed negro population. "The returns from the several prisons," says the report, "show that the white convicts are remaining nearly the same, or are diminishing, while the colored convicts are increasing. At the same time the white population is increasing in the Northern States much faster than the colored population." The following table is taken from the report:

	Whole number of Convicts.	Colored Convicts.	Proportion.
In Massachusetts, .	313	50	1 to 6
In New-York, . .	281	101	1 to 4
In New-Jersey, . .	37	33	1 to 2

Were not these facts and statistics powerful arguments for arresting emancipation? The other States, seeing its evil effects, took the alarm. Some of them passed laws prohibiting the freed negroes from coming within them, and it began to be declared that it was much easier and less expensive to manage "slaves" than free blacks. So great was the reaction which the disastrous experiment of emancipation produced, that some of the States passed laws prohibiting emancipation, unless upon condition that the freed negroes be removed from the country. Thus the Colonization Society arose. It was argued that if the negro could not rise to any respectable condition here, it might be owing to the prejudice against his color and the social outlawry visited upon him. To place him, therefore, in a position where none of these influences could affect him, it was pro-

posed to colonize all who were freed, and, for many years, negro "philanthropy" exhausted itself in this direction. The Society was popular at one time, even at the South. It was regarded by some as the agent or means which would gradually do away with "slavery," and by others as simply an organization to get rid of the incubus of freed negroes. In 1826 the Society, by a resolution, declared itself as "not designing to interfere with slavery where it existed, nor yet as endeavoring to perpetuate its existence." This did not suit the more radical members, and Wm. Lloyd Garrison, James G. Birney, Gerrit Smith, and others, who had ranked among its prominent supporters, shortly after withdrew from it. In 1833 the British Parliament passed the act for the West-India emancipation, and the result was a great impulse to the cause of anti-slavery in the United States.

But no more States could be induced to try emancipation. The advocates of emancipation formed societies, and raised the cry of "immediate abolition." They deluged Congress with petitions, and the country with tracts, pamphlets, and newspapers. Thousands and millions of pages of printed matter were sent out, but all in vain. "Moral suasion" accomplished nothing, and "slavery" not only remained as firm as ever, but it had extended and fortified itself in such a manner that the Abolitionists themselves gave up their "immediate abolition" demand in utter despair. They cried, but no one listened. They expostulated, but the public heeded them not. The freed negroes of the North were a standing monument to the folly of Abolitionism. They had not progressed, or shown themselves active, enterprising members of society. They would black boots, whitewash, and do other menial offices, and they would hold conventions and pass ridiculous resolutions, but as for clearing up land and settling themselves in independent circumstances, they would not. In 1852 Gerrit Smith, who has done more for freed blacks than any

other man, for he gave all who would accept them, free homes on his lands, complained in a letter to Governor Hunt that "the most of them preferred to rot both *physically and morally* in cities, rather than become farmers or mechanics in the country." His own experiment with them resulted in signal failure. Even Horace Greeley, in a moment of apparent forgetfulness, declared in the *Tribune*, September 22d, 1855, that "nine tenths of the free blacks have no idea of setting themselves to work except as the hirelings or servitors of white men; no idea of building a church or other serious enterprise, except through beggary of the whites. *As a class, the blacks are indolent, improvident, servile and licentious.*"

We have shown what the condition of the freed negro population of the North was in 1826-27, according to the statistics of the Boston Prison Discipline Society. We will now give some figures and facts from the United States Census Report of 1850, showing the number of black and white convicts in the penitentiaries of the four States of Massachusetts, New-York, Pennsylvania, and Ohio, and the proportion of free negro convicts over the whites:

POPULATION IN 1850.				
	Mass.	N. Y.	Penn.	Ohio.
Whites,.....	955,450	3,048,325	2,258,160	1,955,050
Free Negroes, ..	9,064	49,069	53,626	25,279

NUMBER IN THE PENITENTIARIES AND STATE PRISONS.				
	Mass.	N. Y.	Penn.	Ohio.
Whites,.....	389	1,380	328	362
Free Negroes,...	47	257	109	44

It will be seen from the above, that in Massachusetts there was one white convict to every 2533 of white population. In New-York there was one white convict to every 2208 of white population. In Pennsylvania one to every 6884, and in Ohio one to every 5400. But how stands the case as to the free negroes? In Massachusetts, there was one free negro convict to every 192 of the free negro population. In New-York one to every 190. In Pennsylvania one to every 492, and in Ohio one to every 574. It is instructive to note these facts. It appears that crime among the free negroes of

Massachusetts is over *eight* times greater than among the white population. Yet the negroes of Massachusetts have enjoyed the benefits of "impartial freedom" ever since 1780. It would seem, therefore, that the more you try to force white men's rights upon them, the lower and lower they sink in the scale of morality.

The freed negro population of the United States has increased from 59,466 in 1790, to 434,495 in 1850, and 481,823 in 1860. In some States it has become so large as to excite well-grounded alarm, and what is remarkable, some of the very States that have little or none of this population among them, are industriously engaged in trying to force it upon others. The six Eastern States, as is shown by the census returns of 1850—Maine, New-Hampshire, Vermont, Massachusetts, Rhode Island, and Connecticut—have 65,440 square miles; and in 1850 they had 23,021 freed negroes in the six States. By the census taken in 1790 they had 17,042 free and slave. The State of New-York has 46,220 square miles, and had 49,069 free negroes in 1850. She has to-day, under the census of 1860, 49,031—a decrease. The six New-England States, and New-York, have 111,660 square miles, and 72,090 free negroes. *The little State of Maryland, has but 10,755 square miles; and in 1850 she had 74,723 free negroes; according to the census of 1860, she has nearly 84,000!* The State of Pennsylvania has 46,215 square miles, lying upon the northern border of the State of Maryland, only divided by an imaginary line, and she had 53,626 free negroes in 1850. Thus we see that the State of Maryland has not one fourth as many square miles as Pennsylvania, and yet Maryland has, by the census of 1860, 27,345 more free blacks than the State of Pennsylvania. The State of Delaware has, by the census of 1860, 19,723 free negroes. The District of Columbia has 11,107 free negroes, and if no slaves had been removed before the abolition of "slavery," this number would have been increased to 14,000—and this, too, in a territory less than ten miles square!

Here, then, we see the comparatively small territory comprising the States of Maryland, Delaware, and the District of Columbia, with no less than 115,000 free negroes! Set free all their "slave" negro population, which previous to the emancipation in the District of Columbia must have been about 100,000, and there would be 215,000 free negroes on 13,000 square miles, or one negro to every $2\frac{1}{2}$ white persons! No people can stand such an incubus of black laziness, vice, and crime as this state of affairs would produce, to say nothing of degrading the white population to a level with the negro. It will not be, it can not be a long time before the cry, "Abolition of free negroism," will be raised in Maryland and Delaware, unless the people are deprived of all right of self-government. If allowed to go on, free negroism will yet produce a social convulsion in those States and elsewhere, to which even civil war, with all its horrors, will be but a faint parallel. Robespierre and Brissot, in 1791, tried the "impartial freedom" of Sumner and Greeley, in St. Domingo, and Alison has vividly painted the result. Speaking of the Haytian tragedy, he says: "That negroes *marched with spiked infants on their spears, instead of colors; then sawed asunder the male prisoners, and violated the females on the dead bodies of their husbands.*" The mind of white persons can scarcely conceive of such infernal atrocities, and yet they are common to negroes, when perverted into what is called freedom.

From all that has been presented, then, it is easy to see that the present condition of the freed negroes of the North is of the most degraded character, and after fifty years of freedom, they are worse instead of better off. They are engaged in no *productive* employments; they furnish a large proportion of our criminals; they fill our almshouses; and hence are a constant tax upon white labor. If their number according to the population were as great as it was when Massachusetts and Pennsylvania were complaining of the burden they cast

upon them, our people would not stand the incubus it would be upon their labor and industry. The free negroes of the North do not now, owing to the immigration and the immense white population, form an appreciable element of society. If they did, our people would demand a remedy, even to a return of these negroes to the care and protection of persons who would guarantee that they should not become public burdens. Society scarcely appreciates the burden of one negro living upon the industry of 100 whites, as in Massachusetts, but when free negroes become as numerous as in Maryland, where there is one to every five whites, they become an intolerable weight, and must irretrievably drag down any State that submits to it. The crimes and indolence of these people are not, however, so much to be charged to their account as to the whites, who, with sufficient intelligence to know and comprehend this race, and their duties toward it, shut their eyes from mere *party* spirit, to absolute facts, and keep on neglecting and persecuting it under the name of philanthropy. The effort to make the negro live out the life or manifest the capabilities of the white man, is like trying to force the woman to live the life of a man, or a child to exhibit the capabilities of the adult, or an ox to perform the duties of a horse! Each one of God's creatures has his specific organization and his specific life, and it is just as reasonable to expect a white man to be an angel as it is to expect a negro to be a white man; that is, to act as a white man, to think as a white man, or to work as a white man. Hence it is, as we have shown, that crime, disease, and death mark the career of Free Negroism. It destroys the negro, drags down white men, burdens them with taxes, and must inevitably end, where the number of the two races approximate, in social convulsions and a horrible and revolting war of races.

PART II.

FREE NEGROISM ELSEWHERE.

HAVING taken a brief glance at free

negroism among ourselves, we will now take a general survey of it elsewhere. Freeing the negro in temperate latitudes, where the number was limited, was a matter of no moment in its effect upon the interest of commerce or civilization. White labor, better adapted to those regions, rushed in to supply its place, and if no emancipation had occurred, the result would have been even more healthy, for the negro labor, rendered unprofitable, would have been sent southward, where it would have been productively employed in raising articles to be exchanged for the skilled labor of more northern latitudes. In order, therefore, to see the really disastrous effects of free negroism, we must turn our attention to that vast tropical territory which has been cursed with this miserable delusion. Many people, perhaps, have no idea of the vast territory, which now lies an uncultivated waste, solely from the effects of removing the negro from the control of the superior race. The entire continent of North and South-America, from the Rio Grande on the North to Brazil on the South, is to-day, little more than a desert waste. But this is not all. Those beautiful and fertile islands—the West-Indies—with the exception of Cuba and Porto Rico, are in the same condition. Let us see how much land is thus lying unproductive and neglected.

The number of square miles in the territory to which we have alluded, is as follows:

	Square miles.
Mexico,.....	829,916
Central America,.....	155,770
Venezuela,.....	426,712
New-Granada,.....	521,948
Ecuador,.....	287,683
British Guiana,.....	96,000
Dutch Guiana,.....	59,765
French Guiana,.....	22,500
West-India Islands,.....	150,000
Total,.....	2,550,249

The United States and Territories comprise an area of 2,946,166 square miles, so that here is an extent of territory nearly equal to the entire length and breadth of our country, which, with here and there an exception, lies

an unproductive waste. If the curse of God had rested upon it, and, like the Cities of the Plain, it had been covered with a bituminous lake, its condition would not be materially different. But, instead of that, the Creator made it originally the most glorious land the sun ever shone upon. Perpetual summer reigns, and the fertility of the soil is as exhaustless as the sea. The variety and extent of its productions are almost unbounded, but, as God said before he made Adam, "Lo! there is no one to till the ground." The negro freed, basks in idleness, and only performs just sufficient labor to keep life in his body. The earth, however, is so rich in spontaneous productions, that the labor which necessity requires, is comparatively none; and hence the negro indulges his constitutional complaint of laziness to its full extent. It would require more space than we have at our disposal to give a review of the decrepitude and decay of the vast extent of territory from the Rio Grande to the Amazon. But a brief extract from Prof. Holton's work on *New-Granada*,* will give an indication of it. Speaking of the Valley of the Cauca, in that country, he says:

"What more could nature do for this people, or what has she withholden from them? What production of any zone would be unattainable by patient industry, *if they knew of such a virtue?* But their valley seems to be enriched with the greatest fertility and the finest climate in the world, only to show the *miraculous power of idleness* and unthrift to keep land poor. Here the family have sometimes *omitted their dinner, just because there was nothing to eat in the house!* Maize, cocoa, and rice, when out of season, can hardly be had for love or money; so this valley, a very Eden by nature, is filled with *hunger and poverty.*"

Now there are over 2,000,000 of square miles essentially in the same position—the inhabitants, degraded in

morals, lazy in habits, and worthless in every respect. The improvements under the Spaniards are gone to decay and ruin, while the mongrel population do nothing except insult the name of "God and Liberty" by indulging in pronunciamientos and revolutions!

THE WEST-INDIA ISLANDS.

From these Islands, where emancipation was inaugurated as an example for us to follow, we propose to draw our principal illustrations of the failure of free negroism. This is the more important, because the abolitionists still endeavor to cling to the delusion that it has been a success. The West-India Islands comprise, it is estimated, in all about 150,000 square miles, or an extent of territory as large as the States of Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi. Some of the smaller islands are uninhabited, but those inhabited, and more or less under cultivation, have an area, as stated in Colton's Atlas, of 96,000 square miles. Cuba takes off 42,000 square miles, leaving 54,000 in Hayti and the British and French Islands. When emancipation took place in Jamaica, in 1834, it was loudly heralded that free labor in the West-Indies would soon render "slavery" entirely unprofitable in the United States. Mr. Birney encouraged his followers with this hope, and William Lloyd Garrison even made the confident prediction that the "American slave system must inevitably perish from starvation." George Thompson, the English Abolitionist, who came over to this country about that time to fan the flame of anti-Southern agitation, declared that "soon all slave labor cotton would be repudiated by the English manufacturers." The labor of free negroes was to accomplish all this, for it was presumed that freedom would give an impetus to production, and that the enterprise and industry of the freed black men would soon far outstrip the resources of those countries where "the unprofitable and expensive system of slave labor" was still adhered to. The millennium was thus, in 1833, but just a step ahead of the Abolitionists. They had almost

* *New-Granada: Twenty Months in the Andes.* By Isaac F. Holton, M.A. Harper & Brothers.

clutched the El Dorado of negro perfection. But alas! for their confident anticipations and positive predictions. In six years the answer came, and it was as follows: In 1800 the West-Indies exported 17,000,000 lbs. of cotton and the United States 17,789,803 lbs. They were thus at this time about equally productive. In 1840 the West-Indies exported only 866,157 lbs. of cotton, while the United States exported 743,941,061 lbs.! Instead, therefore, of the "American system dying of starvation," as Garrison predicted, or of the British spinners refusing to use "slave" grown cotton, England went right on manufacturing "slave" grown cotton, while her "philanthropists," to keep up the delusion, began to talk about raising cotton in Africa, by free-negro labor there, and they have kept on *talking* about it, and all the while *using* the productions of "slave" labor. But, in order to give the reader a fuller and more complete view of the terrible blow the industrial resources of the world have received by emancipation in the West-India Islands, we propose to take up a few of the more important Islands, and notice their decline with some minuteness. As it was the first to try "impartial freedom," we commence with

HAYTI.

This island is divided into two parts — the western portion being Hayti proper, and the eastern forming the Dominican Republic. It is next in size to Cuba, and is regarded as the most fertile of the Antilles. The entire island is 406 miles in length by a maximum width of 163. The number of square miles is 27,690, of which 10,091 are comprised in the Haytian or negro Republic, and the balance in the Dominican. It is very difficult to arrive at the exact population of Hayti, as no definite statistics exist, but it is variously estimated at from 550,000 to 650,000. The climate, natural productions and fertility of its soil are not surpassed by any other portion of the known world. Gold, silver, platina, mercury, copper, iron, tin, sulphur,

rock-salt, jasper, marble, etc., etc., are found among its mineral productions. The gold-mines have long since been abandoned, as has every employment requiring laborious industry. The climate is warm, but on account of the sea-breezes, generally agreeable and pleasant, even during the summer heats. Vegetation is of the richest and most luxuriant kind.

"It is extremely difficult," says a traveler, "to convey to one unacquainted with the richness and variety of the island scenery of the tropics, a correct impression of its gorgeous beauty. Islands rising from a crystal sea, clothed with a vegetation of surpassing luxuriance and splendor, and of every variety, from the tall and graceful palm, the stately and spreading mahogany, to the bright flowers that seem to have stolen their tints from the glowing sun above them. Birds, with colors as varied and gorgeous as the hues of the rainbow, flit amid the dark green foliage of the forests, and flamingoes, with their scarlet plumage, flash along the shore. Fish of the same varied hues glide through waters so clear that for fathoms below the surface they can be distinctly seen. Turn the eye where it will, on sea or land, some bright color flashes before it. Nature is here a queen indeed, and dressed for a gala day.

"In the island of St. Domingo, the rich beauty of the tropics is combined with some of the finest mountain scenery in the world. The broad, fertile lagoons, covered with groves of orange, citron, and coffee, with here and there a delicate column of smoke indicating the locality of some invisible dwelling; groves of mangroves, rising apparently from the midst of the waters, but indicating the presence of dangerous shallows, gradually become visible. No rough promontory, as upon our northern shores, meets the eye; every angle is delicately rounded, every feature of the scenery undulating and graceful."

To this surpassing beauty is added almost all the natural productions that can be conceived. The mountains are covered with forests of pine, mahog-

any, fustic, satin-wood, lignum vitæ, and other cabinet woods. All the usual tropical productions grow spontaneously in great abundance, including plantains, bananas, yams, maize, millet, oranges, pine-apples, melons, grapes, etc. The staples of cultivation are coffee, cocoan, sugar, indigo, cotton, and tobacco. Surely, such a country as this has been peculiarly blessed by the Creator, and it seems nothing less than a crime against nature to allow its exhaustless resources to remain undeveloped. But what is its history?

In 1790 Hayti was in a high state of prosperity. At that time it supplied half of Europe with sugar. It was a French colony, and contained a population which numbered about 500,000, of which 38,360 were whites, and 28,370 free negroes, mostly mulattoes. The remainder were negro "slaves." The period of which we speak was the era of the great French Revolution, when doctrines of "liberty, equality, and fraternity" had full sway in France. The colonists or white people of Hayti entered with great fervor into the support of these doctrines, but they intended them to apply to white men, and *white men only*. But this did not suit the pleasure of the "Mountain Department" of the French Assembly. That demanded "impartial freedom," and "impartial freedom" it was. In 1793 the freedom of the blacks in Hayti was decreed, and the grand experiment of "impartial freedom" commenced. The result of that experiment is now, after seventy years' trial, before the world. If the negro has any capacity for self-government, any of the inherent, natural abilities or energies of the white man, surely he ought to have shown them during this time. With a country whose natural resources and fertility are beyond question, and with a climate exactly suited to the physical peculiarities of the race, surely there should have been no such word as fail. The island had been brought to a high state of cultivation, and to an exalted commercial prosperity by the French planters. It was turned over to its new masters

like a garden ready cultivated, and all they had to do was to keep it as it was, and go on in the career of prosperity which had been so successfully inaugurated. But what are the facts? A few statistics will show, more vividly than words, how fearfully the island has retrograded and how fallacious are all the hopes which have been indulged in, as to the industry of negroes, when left to themselves. In 1790 the value of the exports of Hayti were \$27,828,000, the principal productions being as follows:

Sugar, lbs.,.....	163,405,220
Coffee, "	68,151,180
Cotton, "	6,288,126
Indigo, "	930,016

In 1826, about thirty years after emancipation, the figures stood thus:

Sugar, lbs.,.....	32,864
Coffee, "	32,189,784
Cotton, "	620,972
Indigo, "	none.

Now there is no sugar at all exported, while coffee and logwood have become the principal items of export. The former is gathered wild from the mountains, or from the old abandoned French plantations, while all that is required in order to get the latter is to cut down the tree, which grows spontaneously, and take it to market. It is, therefore, seen that all *cultivation* is abandoned, and only those articles are now exported which require no labor to produce them. In 1849, the latest date of which we have any reliable statistics, and sixty years after emancipation, the exports of the articles we have named were as follows:

Sugar, lbs.,.....	none.
Coffee, "	30,608,343
Cotton, "	544,516
Indigo, "	none.

It is impossible to state, with accuracy, what the present value of the exports of Hayti amount to. Mr. Sumner, in a recent speech in the Senate, placed them at \$2,673,000. This, we apprehend, is just about double the real value. A recent traveler, Mr. Underhill, says he could find *no statistics* in Hayti as to her commerce, and Mr. Sumner's figures are, doubtless, mere guess-work. But grant what Mr

Sumner says, and what a doleful picture of commercial ruin it presents! In 1790, the exports of Hayti amounted to \$27,828,000, and now, according even to abolition testimony, they foot up only \$2,683,000! Comment is unnecessary.

The statistics we have quoted are taken from the *U. S. Commercial Relations*," Vol. I. pp. 561-2, officially reported to Congress, and published by order of that body. But all these figures are fully corroborated by every candid and impartial traveler. A foreign resident at the capital of Hayti, under a recent date, writes:

"This country has made, since its emancipation, no progress whatever. The population partially live upon the produce of the grown wild coffee plantations, remnants of the French dominion. Properly speaking, plantations after the model of the English in Jamaica or the Spanish in Cuba, do not exist here. Hayti is the most beautiful and the most fertile of the Antilles. It has more mountains than Cuba, and more space than Jamaica. Nowhere the coffee-tree could better thrive than here, as it especially likes a mountainous soil. But the *indolence of the negro has brought the once splendid plantations to decay*. They now gather coffee *only from the grown wild trees*. The cultivation of the sugar-cane has *entirely disappeared*, and the island that once supplied the one half of Europe with sugar now supplies its own wants from Jamaica and the United States."

In order to show the present condition of Hayti more fully, we quote from a work just published in London, entitled *The West-Indies—their Moral and Social Condition*. The author, Mr. E. B. Underhill, was sent out by the Baptist Missionary Society of London, and is an abolitionist of the deepest dye. While finding all the excuses he can for the decay of the island, he is forced to own the truth. He describes his journey to Port au Prince as follows:

"We passed by many or through *many abandoned plantations, the buildings in ruin*, the sugar-mills de-

cayed, *and the iron pans strewn the roadside, cracked and broken*. But for the law that forbids, on pain of confiscation, the export of all metals, they would long ago have been sold to foreign merchants.

"Only once in this long ride did we come upon a mill in use; it was grinding canes, in order to manufacture the syrup from which *tafia* is made, a kind of inferior rum, the intoxicating drink of the country. The mill was worked by a large over-shot or water-wheel the water being brought by an aqueduct from a very considerable distance. With the exception of a few banana-gardens, or small patches of maize round the cottages, nowhere did this magnificent and fertile plain show signs of cultivation.

"In the time of the French occupation before the Revolution of 1793, thousands of hogshheads of sugar were produced; *now, not one. All is decay and desolation*. The pastures are deserted, and the prickly pear covers the land once laughing with the bright hues of the sugar-cane.

"The hydraulic works, erected at vast expense for irrigation, *have crumbled to dust. The plow is an unknown implement of culture*, although so eminently adapted to the great plains and deep soil of Hayti.

"A country so capable of producing for export, and therefore for the enrichment of its people—besides sugar, and coffee, cotton, tobacco, the cacao bean, spices, every tropical fruit, and many of the fruits of Europe—*lies uncultivated, unoccupied, and desolate*. Its rich mines are neither explored nor worked; and its beautiful woods rot in the soil where they grow. A little logwood is exported, but ebony, mahogany, and the finest building timber rarely fall before the woodman's ax, and then only for local use. The present inhabitants despise *all servile labor*, and are, for the most part, content with *the spontaneous productions of the soil and forest*."

The degraded, barbarous condition of the negroes of Hayti is well illustrated in a description given by Mr. Underhill, of what is known as "the

religion of Vaudoux, or serpent-worship." It is a native African superstition, and proves, beyond all question, the rapid return of the Hayti negroes to the original savagism of their African ancestors. Mr. U. gives a full description of the ceremonies of this heathenish rite, as described to him by one of the resident missionaries, which we regret we have not space to give entire. The performances are preceded by the following barbaric chorus!

"Eh! eh! Bomba, hen! hen!

Canga bafia te
Canga mourne de le
Canga de ki li
Canga li."

The object worshiped *is a small green snake*, and the custom is a purely African heathenism. The negro always has a predisposition to it, but it is repressed when he is under white control. Of late years it has been revived extensively in Hayti.

"The Vaudoux," says Mr. Underhill, "meet in a retired spot, designated at a previous meeting. On entering they take off their shoes, and bind about their bodies handkerchiefs, in which a red color predominates. The king is known by the scarlet band around his head, worn like a crown, and a scarf of the same color distinguishes the queen. The object of adoration, the serpent, is placed on a stand. It is then worshiped; after which the box is placed on the ground, the queen mounts upon it, is seized with violent tremblings, and gives utterance to oracles in response to the prayers of the worshipers. A dance closes the ceremony. The king puts his hand on the serpent's box; a tremor seizes him, which is communicated to the circle. A delirious whirl or dance ensues, lightened by the free use of tafia. The weakest fall, as if dead, upon the spot. The bacchanalian revelers, always dancing and turning about, are borne away into a place near at hand, where sometimes, under the triple excitement of *promiscuous intercourse*, drunkenness and darkness, scenes are enacted, enough to make

the impassible gods of Africa itself gnash their teeth with horror."

What a disgusting picture of savagism and heathenism does not this present! And yet, there are people who try to palm off upon the world the idea that negroes can remain civilized when left to themselves. This same missionary, Mr. Webley, writing to the London *Missionary Herald*, in 1850, says: "These Vaudoux almost deluge the Haytien part of the Island. They practice witchcraft and mysticism to an almost indefinite extent. They are singular *adepts at poisoning*. A person rarely escapes them when *he has been fixed upon as a victim*." It is thus seen that Obeism is quite as prevalent in Hayti as it is in the interior of Africa. What more need be said to prove the relapse of these negroes into their original barbarism? Such, then, is the condition of Hayti. Production gone, commerce gone, and the negroes themselves returning to their original African heathenism!

JAMAICA.

Jamaica is about 150 miles long by about 50 in width. Its area is about 6400 square miles, or 4,000,000 of acres. It is the largest and most valuable of the British West-India Islands. The last census taken was in 1844, when the population stood as follows: Whites, 15,779; negroes, 293,128; mulattoes, 68,529. By the census of 1861, the only one taken since, the population is stated as follows: whites, 13,816; mulattoes, 81,065; negroes, 346,374. The whole number of persons who can read is set down at 80,724, and 50,726 as able to read and write. It will be seen from this that over 300,000 can neither read nor write. The education is evidently confined to the whites and mulattoes, leaving the negroes in their natural ignorance, where they have neither oral nor any other instruction. Of course "educated" negroes are simply monstrosities, but as some people seem to suppose that "freedom" will develop such "white crows," we have cited these statistics to show that Ja

maica has not yet produced them, after a twenty-five years' trial. The white population, it will also be seen, is gradually decreasing — dying out — through the blood of the negro.

The productions of Jamaica are similar to those of the other West-India Islands. The soil is deep and fertile, and one of the best in the world for the production of sugar, coffee, pimento, and ginger. It is also rich in minerals, cabinet-woods, etc., and the low grounds yield abundantly the plantain, banana, yam, sweet potatoes, pine-apples, oranges, pomegranates, etc., etc. Jamaica has been in possession of England ever since the days of Oliver Cromwell, and at the time of the prohibition of the importation of negroes from Africa in 1807, was in a most flourishing condition. Her history, since then, has been one of gradual but sure decay. The restriction upon her supply of labor produced some decrease in her productions, and the abolition of "slavery" in 1833 hastened the final destruction of the island. The negroes freed in 1833 were to serve five years as apprentices, and on the first of August, 1838, to have their unconditional liberty. For this injury to the negro, and crime toward the white man, the planters were allowed about \$30,000,000, the whole sum expended in all the islands, by the British government, being about \$100,000,000. And what is the result? Facts speak louder than words, and to them we appeal. The value of the exports of Jamaica, (we quote from the *Cyclopedia of Commerce*, published by Harper and Brothers, of this city,) before and after the emancipation, will illustrate what we say:

BEFORE EMANCIPATION.

Years.	Value of Exports.
1809	£3,033,234
1810	2,303,579

AFTER EMANCIPATION.

1853	£837,276
1854	932,316

The productions of Jamaica show, forcibly, what the above figures exhibit by values. In 1805, two years before the prohibition of African emi-

gration, the productions of Jamaica were as follows:

PRODUCTS OF JAMAICA IN 1805.

Sugar,.....	150,352 hhds.
Rum,.....	46,837 punch.
Pimento,.....	1,041,540 lbs.
Coffee,.....	17,961,923 lbs.

The production of the island, at that time, was at its highest point. The sugar was the largest crop ever produced in Jamaica. The loss of labor was severely felt, especially in the sugar-culture, so that in 1834, the year emancipation was effected, the production stood as follows:

PRODUCTS OF JAMAICA IN 1834.

Sugar,.....	84,756 hhds.
Rum,.....	32,111 punch.
Pimento,.....	3,605,400 lbs.
Coffee,.....	17,725,731 lbs.

In the very next year, the first one under free negroism, there was a manifest falling off. The sugar production was only 77,970 hhds., nearly 10,000 hhds. less; coffee was only 10,593,018 lbs., a decrease of over 7,000,000 lbs., and this decrease has steadily continued, until in 1856 the production of Jamaica stood as follows:

PRODUCTS OF JAMAICA IN 1856

Sugar,.....	25,920 hhds.
Rum,.....	14,470 punch.
Pimento,.....	6,848,622 lbs.
Coffee,.....	3,328,147 lbs.

The only crop that had increased was that of pimento, or allspice, the increase of which, instead of being an evidence of the industry of the negro, is the reverse. The pimento-tree grows wild in Jamaica, and rapidly spreads over land formerly under cultivation. As the plantations were abandoned, they were overrun with this tree, and the negro women and children picked the berries without the trouble of cultivation. The coffee-tree, to a certain extent, is like the pimento, and grows wild in many places. Hence the production of coffee has not fallen off in the same proportion as that of sugar, which can only be produced by careful cultivation. The coffee crop of Jamaica, however, was in 1813, before the overthrow of "slave" labor, 34,045

535 lbs., but the average crop for the past ten years has not been over 5,000,000 lbs., while the sugar crop had fallen in 1853 as low as 20,000 hhds.! These facts and statistics demonstrate the down-hill progress of Jamaica, and show what may be expected wherever the experiment of free negroism is attempted.

The rapidity with which estates have been abandoned in Jamaica, and the decrease in the taxable property of the island, is also astounding. The movable and immovable property of Jamaica was once estimated at £50,000,000, or nearly \$250,000,000. In 1850 the assessed valuation had fallen to £11,500,000. In 1851 it was reduced to £9,500,000, and Mr. Westmoreland, in a speech in the Jamaica House of Assembly, stated it was believed, that the falling off would be £2,000,000 more in 1852. From a report made to the House of Assembly of the number and extent of the plantations abandoned during the years 1848, '49, '50, '51 and '52, we gather the following facts:

Sugar-estates abandoned,.....	128
“ “ partially abandoned,...	71
Coffee-plantations abandoned,....	96
“ “ partially abandoned,...	66

The total number of acres thus thrown out of cultivation in five years was 391,187! This is only a sample, for the same process has been going on ever since emancipation. In the five years immediately succeeding emancipation, the abandoned estates stood as follows:

Sugar-estates, 140,.....	168,032 acres.
Coffee-plantations, 465,.....	188,400 “

These plantations employed 49,383 laborers, whose industry was, therefore, at once lost to the world, and the articles they had raised were just so much subtracted from consumption. The price of these articles, sugar and coffee, was increased on account of the diminished production, and that increased cost represented the tax which the world paid for the privilege of allowing Sambo to loll in idleness. The *Cyclopædia of Commerce* says, “that the negro is rapidly reced-

ing into a savage state, and that unless there is a large and immediate supply of immigrants, *all society will come to a speedy end*, and the island become a second Hayti.”

Such, then, is the condition of Jamaica, as stated in an impartial work. Let us hear now what the London *Times* candidly owns up to. It says.

“There is *no blinking the truth*. Years of bitter experience, years of hope deferred, of self-devotion unrequited, of prayers unanswered, of sufferings derided, of insults unresented, of contumely patiently endured, have convinced us of the truth. It must be spoken out loudly and energetically, despite the wild mockings of ‘howling cant.’ *The freed West-India slave will not till the soil for wages*; the free son of the ex-slave is as obstinate as his sire. He will not cultivate lands which he has not bought for his own. Yams, mangoes and plantains—these satisfy his wants; he cares not for yours. Cotton, sugar, coffee and tobacco he cares but little for. And what matters it to him that the Englishman has sunk his thousands and tens of thousands on mills, machinery and plants, which now totter on the languishing estate that for years has only returned him beggary and debt? He eats his yams and sniggers at ‘Buckra.’ We know not why this should be, but so it is. The negro has been bought with a price—the price of English *taxation* and English *toil*. He has been redeemed from bondage *by the sweat and travail of some millions of hard-working Englishmen*. Twenty millions of pounds sterling—one hundred millions of dollars—have been *distilled from the brains and muscles of the free English laborer*, of every degree, to fashion the West-India negro into a ‘free, independent laborer.’ ‘Free and independent’ enough he has become, God knows, but laborer he *is not*; and, so far as we can see, *never will be*. He will sing hymns and quote texts, but honest, steady industry he not only detests but *despises*.”

Such is the testimony of the London *Times*—such the universal evi-

dence of every candid individual. How different is this picture from that predicted by the Abolitionists! The Rev. Dr. Channing, the Dr. Cheever of that day, made the following prophecy in 1833, as the result of emancipation:

"The planters, in general, would suffer little, if at all, from emancipation. This change would make them *richer* rather than poorer. One would think, indeed, from the common language on the subject, that the negroes were to be annihilated by being set free; that the whole labor of the South was to be destroyed by a single blow. But the colored man, when freed, will not vanish from the soil. He will stand there with the same muscles as before, only strung anew by liberty; with the same limbs to toil, and with *stronger motives* to toil than before. He will work from *hope*, not fear; will work for himself, not for others; and unless all the principles of human nature are reversed under a black skin, he will work *better than before*. We believe that agriculture will revive, our worn-out soils will be renewed, and the whole country assume a brighter aspect under *free labor*."

This is the same story the Abolitionists are singing now, not having yet learned that "the principles of human nature are reversed under a black skin"—that is, of *white* human nature, and it was from a total misconception of the negro that Dr. Channing fell into his grand mistake. Mr. Anthony Trollope, an Englishman, and an anti-slavery man, who has written a book on Jamaica, seems to know rather more of the negro race than Dr. Channing did. The London *Times*, drawing its facts from Mr. Trollope, says of it:

"A servile race, peculiarly fitted by nature for the hardest physical work in a burning climate. The negro has no desire for property strong enough to induce him to labor with sustained power. He lives from hand to mouth. In order that he may have his dinner and some small finery, he will work a little, but after that he is content to lie

in the sun. This in Jamaica he can very easily do, for emancipation and free trade have combined to throw enormous tracts of land out of cultivation, and on these the negro squats, getting all that he wants with very little trouble, and sinking, in the most resolute fashion, to the savage state. Lying under his cotton-tree, he refuses to work after ten o'clock in the morning. 'No, tankee, massa, me tired now; me no want more money.' Or, by the way of variety, he may say: 'No, workee no more; money no nuff; workee no pay.' And so the planter must see his canes foul with weeds, because he can not prevail on Sambo to earn a second shilling by going into the cane-fields. He calls him a lazy nigger, and threatens him with starvation. His answer is: 'No, massa; no starve now; God send plenty yam.' These yams, be it observed, on which Sambo lives, and on the strength of which he declines to work, are grown on the planter's own ground, and probably planted at his own expense.

"There lies the shiny, oily, odorous negro under his mango-tree, eating the luscious fruit in the sun. He sends his black urchin up for a bread-fruit, and, behold, the family table is spread. He pierces a cocoa-nut, and lo! there is his leverage. He lies on the ground, surrounded by oranges, bananas, and pine-apples. Why should he work? Let Sambo himself reply: 'No, massa, me weak in me belly; me no workee to-day: me no like workee just um little moment.'"

This is a graphic description of the negro character, where the climate gives him a chance to show out his real nature. The same author says that "one half of the sugar-estates, and *more than* one half of the coffee-plantations have gone back *into a state of bush*."

The idea of working for pay never entered in black nature. As long ago as Mungo Park traveled in Africa, he discovered that "paid servants, persons of free condition, voluntarily working for pay, are *unknown here*." No traveler in Africa, down to Dr

Livingstone, has reversed that judgment.

In Lewis's West-Indies, written 17 years before emancipation, it is remarked: "As to free blacks, they are unfortunately lazy and improvident; most of them half-starved, and only anxious to live from hand to mouth. Even those who profess to be tailors, carpenters, or coopers are, for the most part, careless, drunken and dissipated, and never take pains sufficient to attain to any dexterity in their trades! *As for a free negro hiring himself out for plantation labor, no instance of such a thing was ever known in Jamaica.*" Earl Grey said, in the House of Lords, on June 10th, 1852, "that it was established by statistical facts that the negroes were *idle, and falling back in civilization*; that, relieved from the coercion to which they were formerly subjected, and a couple of days' labor giving them enough food for a fortnight, the climate rendering clothing and fuel not necessary to life, they had no earthly motive to give a greater amount of service than for mere subsistence." Sir H. Light and Gov. Barkley have both shown, also, that the majority of the free negroes of the West-Indies are living in idleness, and the French colonies, according to a work from M. Vacherot, published a few years ago at Paris, demonstrate the same ruinous result under their emancipation act.

Captain Hamilton, on his examination as a witness, before a select committee of Parliament, stated that "*Jamaica, without any exaggeration, had become a desert.*"

In 1850 Mr. John Bigelow, then one of the editors of the New-York *Evening Post*, paid a visit to Jamaica, and wrote a book thereon. As the testimony of an anti-slavery man his statements are given. Mr. Bigelow says that the land of that island is as prolific as any in the world. It can be bought for \$5 to \$10 per acre, and five acres confer the right of voting and eligibility to public offices. Planters offer \$1.50 per day for labor; 16

days' labor will enable a negro to buy land enough to make him a voter and the market of Kingston offers a great demand for vegetables at all times. These facts, said Mr. Bigelow, place independence within the reach of every black. But what are the results? There has been no increase in voters in 20 years. Lands run wild. Kingston gets its vegetables from the United States.

But we will accumulate proof—pile it up, if needed. Mr. Robert Baird, who is an enthusiastic advocate of "the glorious Act of British Emancipation," on visiting the West-Indies for his health, could not fail to be struck with the desolate appearance there.

"That the West-Indians," says Mr. Baird, "are always grumbling, is an observation often heard, and, no doubt, it is very true that they are so. But let any one who thinks that the extent and clamor of the complaint exceeds the magnitude of the distress which has called it forth, go to the West-Indies and judge for himself. Let him see with his own eyes THE NEGLECTED AND ABANDONED ESTATES—THE UNCULTIVATED FIELDS, FAST HURRYING BACK INTO A STATE OF NATURE, WITH ALL THE SPEED OF TROPICAL LUXURIANCE—THE DISMANTLED AND SILENT MACHINERY, THE CRUMBLING WALLS, AND DESERTED MANSIONS, WHICH ARE FAMILIAR SIGHTS IN MOST OF THE BRITISH WEST-INDIAN COLONIES. Let him then transport himself to the Spanish Islands of Porto Rico and Cuba, and witness the life and activity which in these slave colonies prevail. Let him observe for himself the activity of the slaves—the improvements daily making in the cultivation of the fields, and in the processes carried on at the Ingenio or sugar-mills—and *the general, indescribable air of thriving and prosperity which surround the whole*—and then let him come back to England and say, if he honestly can, that the British West-Indian planters and proprietors are grumblers, who complain without adequate cause."

Ex Governor Wood, of Ohio, who paid a visit to Jamaica in 1853, and who is no friend to "slavery," says :

"Since the blacks have been liberated, they have become indolent, insolent, degraded and dishonest. They are a rude, beastly set of vagabonds, lying naked about the streets, as filthy as the Hottentots, and I believe worse. On getting to the wharf of Kingston, the first thing the blacks of *both sexes*, *perfectly naked*, come swarming about the boat, and would dive for small pieces of coin that were thrown by the passengers. On entering the city the stranger is annoyed to death by black beggars at every step, and you must often show him your pistol or an uplifted cane to rid yourself of their importunities."

Sewell, in his work on the *Ordeal of Free Labor*, in which he defends emancipation, and pleads for still more extended privileges to the blacks, says of Kingston :

"There is not a house in decent repair; not a wharf in good order; no pavement, no sidewalk, no drainages, and scanty water; no light. There is nothing like work done. Wreck and ruin, destitution and neglect. The inhabitants, taken *en masse*, are steeped to the eyelids in immorality. The population shows unnatural decrease. Illegitimacy exceeds legitimacy. Nothing is replaced that time destroys. If a brick tumbles from a house to the street, it remains there. If a spout is loosened by the wind, it hangs by a thread till it falls; if furniture is accidentally broken, the idea of having it mended is not entertained. A God-forsaken place, without life or energy, old, dilapidated, sickly, filthy, cast away from the anchorage of sound morality, of reason and of common-sense. Yet this wretched hulk is the capital of an island the most fertile in the world. It is blessed with a climate the most glorious; it lies rotting in the shadow of mountains that can be cultivated from summit to base with every product of tropic and temperate region. It is the mistress of a harbor wherein a

thousand line-of-battle ships can ride safely at anchor."

We might fill a volume with such quotations, showing the steady decline of the Island. But it is well to note the moral condition of the negro. The *American Missionary Association* is the strongest kind of Abolition testimony in regard to the moral condition of the negroes. The *American Missionary*, a monthly paper, and organ of the Association, for July, 1855, has the following quotation from the letters of one of the missionaries :

"A man here may be a drunkard, a liar, a Sabbath-breaker, a profane man, a fornicator, an adulterer, and such like—and be known to be such—and go to chapel and hold up his head there, and feel no disgrace from these things, because they are so common as to create a public sentiment in his favor. He may go to the communion-table, and cherish a hope of heaven, and not have his hope disturbed. I might tell of persons, guilty of some, if not all of these things, ministering in holy things."

The Report of the American and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, for 1853, p. 170, says of the negroes :

"Their moral condition is very far from being what it ought to be. It is exceedingly dark and distressing. *Licentiousness prevails to a most alarming extent among the people.* . . . The almost universal prevalence of intemperance is another prolific source of the moral darkness and degradation of the people. The great mass among all classes of the inhabitants, from the governor in his palace to the peasant in his hut — from the bishop in his gown to the beggar in his rags — are *all slaves to their cups.*"

So much for "freedom" elevating the blacks. It is complained that the marriage relation is not always regarded where "slavery" exists, but it would seem, from this statement, that "slavery" had done more for the moral improvement of the negro, in this respect, than he was at all disposed to do for himself.

Mr. Underhill indorses the stories

"of the crowds of bastard children" in the Island, and says it is "too true." "Outside the nonconformist communities," he says, "neglect of marriage is *almost universal*. One clergyman informed me that of seventeen infants brought to his church for baptism, *fifteen*, at least, would be of illegitimate origin." In fact, from all the admissions made, it does not appear that there is any more marriage in Jamaica than in Africa. The churches, Mr. Underhill allows, are less attended than formerly, and there is evidently little of the religious training of the whites left among the people. The negro, however, has all the advantages of "impartial freedom," and "the highest offices of the state are open to colored men. They are found," says Mr. U., "in the Assembly, in the executive, on the bench and at the bar. All colors mix freely. This would be the paradise for Seward, Phillips and Greeley. Mr. Underhill estimates the annual loss of wages to the people, from the decay of estates and plantations, can not be less than £300,000, or nearly \$1,500,000! Negroes who work at all can not be prevailed upon to do so, generally, more than four days in the week, and rarely five. Mr. U. also states that it has been officially ascertained that *two thirds* of the persons employed on sugar-estates are *women and children*. Yet, notwithstanding all these facts, the anti-slaveryite still adheres to his favorite hobby. He has excuses and palliatives for his friend, the negro. True, Jamaica is ruined, but still emancipation is a success. The seasons are poor, the estates were mortgaged, the planters have not treated the blacks kindly, and they have bought patches of ground of their own rather than labor for others. Such are some of the excuses of the friends of Sambo. But the facts still stand out in bold relief, despite the assertion of "negro missionaries," who are interested in keeping up the delusion. The *facts* they do admit. They can not deny or controvert them. This is all we ask—we need none of their excuses. In order to relieve themselves of the

odium of having ruined the fairest Island of the Antilles, they will naturally look for reasons not chargeable to them. But figures do not lie. The exports of Jamaica have been gradually decreasing ever since "slavery" in the Island was interfered with, until they have dwindled down to insignificance, and, as the London *Times* says, "there is no blinking the truth—the negroes will not work for wages," and hence the tropics are going back to jungle and bush, while white men are taxed double the price they ought to be for all tropical products.

THE OTHER ISLANDS.

The careful survey we have taken of the condition of Jamaica, derived both from official statistics and the evidences of anti-slavery men, render it almost unnecessary to notice the remaining islands, where emancipation has been carried out. The story of Jamaica is the story of all. We will, however, briefly notice the condition of Trinidad and Barbadoes, for these islands are often held up by the discomfited Abolitionists as an evidence of the success of emancipation. Again we will take their own evidence to vanquish them. Trinidad contains 2020 square miles. Her soil is as fertile as any of the islands, and if production has somewhat increased within the past few years, it is owing entirely to the Coolie slave-trade.

As illustrating the terrible ordeal through which Trinidad has passed, we quote from Mr. Underhill. He says:

"Three years after emancipation, in 1841, the condition of the island was most deplorable; the laborers had, for the most part, abandoned the estates, and taken possession of plots of vacant land, especially in the vicinity of the towns, without purchase or lawful right. Vagrancy had become an alarming habit of great numbers; every attempt to take a census of the population was baffled by the frequent migrations which took place. Criminals easily evaded justice by absconding to places where they were unknown, or by hiding themselves in the

dense forests, which in all parts edged so closely on the cleared lands. Drunkenness increased to an enormous degree, assisted by planters who freely supplied rum to the laborers, to induce them to remain as cultivators on their estates. High wages were obtained, only to be squandered in amusement, revelry, and dissipation; at the same time, these high wages induced a diminished cultivation of food, and a corresponding increase in price, and in the import of provisions from the neighboring islands and continent. The laborers steadily refused to enter into any contracts which should oblige them to remain in the service of a master; this would too much have resembled the state of slavery from which they had but just emerged. It was with reference to this state of things that Lord Harris wrote in 1848: 'Liberty has been given to a heterogeneous mass of individuals, who can only comprehend license; a partition in the rights and privileges and duties of civilized society has been granted to them; they are only capable of enjoying its vices.' "

With the help of Vagrant Acts and other legislative enactments, somewhat like order was established; and the introduction of Coolie labor has enabled Trinidad to recover from the state of poverty into which it has been plunged. The island, however, has been compelled to burden itself with a debt of \$725,000 on account of the expenses of the Coolie slave-trade, which is disguised under the name of apprenticeship.

According to Lord Harris, one fourth of the entire negro population of Trinidad, in 1850, were living in idleness. Estates were wholly abandoned, and poverty stalked abroad. The Coolie labor arrested this downward tendency. Between 1847 and 1856, 47,739 Coolies were introduced into the West-India possessions of Great Britain, the greater portion going to Trinidad and Guiana. These 47,739 protests against the idleness of the negro have about doubled the production of sugar in Trinidad—raising it from 20,000 to 40,000 hogsheads.

But no thanks to the negro for this. It is none of his doings. Mr. Underhill declares that NOT ONE FOURTH of the persons employed on the estates are negroes. Hence this increase in the sugar production of Trinidad is no evidence of the benefit of emancipation, but just the reverse.

The case of Barbadoes is still more emphatic, though the Abolitionists are never tired of referring to that island as the proof positive of the success of "free negro labor." Now, what is Barbadoes? Well, it is a small island, about large enough for a good-sized water-melon patch. It is about 21 miles long by 14 wide, and contains 100,000 acres of land, all told. It has 150,000 inhabitants, and is more thickly settled than China. There is not an acre of wild or unimproved land—not room, as Trollope says, "for a picnic." This land is monopolized by the whites; and, under a rigid system of vagrant laws, the black is compelled to work. If an idle negro is seen, he is set to work, at wages, or else compelled to DRAG A BALL AND CHAIN on the highways. Mr. Trollope says: "When emancipation came, there was no squatting ground for the poor Barbadian. He had still to work and make sugar—work quite as hard as he had done while yet a slave. He had to do that or to starve. Consequently, labor has been abundant in this island only." Now, how this "capsizes" all the stuff the anti-slaveryites tell us about Barbadoes! Not long since there appeared in the *Independent*, of this city, an article glorifying emancipation as it had affected Barbadoes. Gov. Hinks, of that island, published a letter in proof of it, and in it occurs this remarkable admission:

"In Barbadoes, I have explained already that wages have ranged from 10*d.* to 1*s.* per task, and that rate prevails generally. In addition to these wages, a small allotment of land is usually given, but on a most uncertain tenure. The laborer may be EJECTED AT ANY TIME ON A FEW DAYS' NOTICE, and he is subjected to PENALTIES FOR NOT WORKING ON THE ESTATE."

There is the alternative to the negro,

"work or starve." Does any one suppose that the negroes of Barbadoes would work any better than the negroes of Jamaica, if there were plenty of unoccupied land in that island, as there is in Jamaica, on which they could squat? If the negroes of Barbadoes are as enterprising as the Abolitionists would have us believe, why do they not emigrate to Jamaica, where labor is in such demand, much higher than in Barbadoes, and where land is plenty? The truth is easily told. The negro never emigrates voluntarily any where. He works when compelled to, and riots in idleness wherever he has a chance to show out his nature. It is doubtful, however, whether the production of sugar in Barbadoes is any larger now than it was nearly 200 years ago. It was one of the first islands in which the Spaniards cultivated sugar, and in 1676 the sugar-trade of Barbadoes required 400 vessels, of 150 tons each.* The production of sugar in 1852 was 48,000 hogsheds. In 1836, the tonnage of its shipping was 62,000, about the same as in 1676. It is, therefore, quite evident that there has not been a material change in Barbadoes for many years. The negroes have simply exchanged masters, and are probably now in a worse condition than under the old system.

We have thus traced, with some minuteness, the present condition of four

of the principal West-India Islands Hayti, where the negro has been left mainly to himself, we have seen, has gone back to its original, uncultivated wilderness, and the inhabitants are sunk into the SAVAGISM OF THEIR AFRICAN ANCESTORS. They are rapidly losing even all conceptions of civilization, and, as soon as the mulattoes die out, the process will be complete. Abolitionism will have reared an African heathenism on this continent as the culmination of their bastard philanthropy. Civilization, and all the wants of civilization, are utterly ignored by the negroes of Hayti. The cotton, sugar, coffee, indigo, etc., which they ought to supply to the world, are left uncultivated.

Jamaica, the principal British West-India island, though the white population there has struggled against it, presents essentially the same features. Every where are desolation and ruin. These beautiful and fertile islands, perfect "gems of the sea," are turned over to savagism, and ruined upon the false and visionary idea that negroes are white men!

To present at a glance the effects of Free Negroism in the West-India Islands, and to sum up the whole subject in a brief space, it is only necessary to examine the following table, showing the deficit in production under "free negro labor:"

CONTRAST OF "SLAVE" NEGRO LABOR AND "FREE" NEGRO LABOR EXPORTS FROM THE WEST-INDIES.

"SLAVE" NEGRO LABOR.				
	Years.	lbs. Sugar.	lbs. Coffee.	lbs. Cotton.
British West-Indies,.....	1807	636,025,643	31,610,764	17,000,000*
Hayti,.....	1790	163,318,810	76,835,219	7,286,126
Total,.....		809,344,453	108,245,983	24,286,126
"FREE" NEGRO LABOR.				
	Years.	lbs. Sugar.	lbs. Coffee.	lbs. Cotton.
British West-Indies,.....	1848	313,306,112	6,770,792	427,529†
Hayti,.....	1848	very little	34,114,717‡	1,591,454‡
Total,.....		313,306,112	40,885,509	2,018,983
"Free" Negro Labor Deficit,.....		496,038,341	67,360,474	22,267,143

If it were necessary to add to the proof we have given, that it is the overthrow of the supremacy of the white race, and that alone, that has

produced this deplorable result, it is only required to cite the case of Cuba. Let Mr. Underhill, the British Abolitionist, from whom we have quoted, describe the difference between Cuba,

* Sugar: Its Culture and Consumption. By P. L. Simmonds, of London.

* 1800.

† 1840.

‡ 1847.

where "slavery" exists, and where it does not. Of Havana he says:

"It is the **BUSIEST AND MOST PROSPEROUS OF ALL THE CITIES OF THE ANTILLES**. Its harbor is one of the finest in the world, and is **CROWDED WITH SHIPPING**. Its wharves and warehouses are piled with merchandise, and the general aspect is one of **GREAT COMMERCIAL ACTIVITY**. Its exports nearly reach the annual value of **NINE MILLIONS STERLING, (\$45,000,000,)** and the customs furnish an annual tribute to the mother country over and above the cost of government and military occupation. **EIGHT THOUSAND SHIPS** annually resort to the harbor of Cuba."

Evidently Mr. Underhill had got into a new world. He saw it, and was struck with the contrast it presented to the dilapidated region he had just left. In order to show the contrast between the **PROGRESS OF CUBA**, and the **DECLINE OF JAMAICA**, it is only necessary to give a few statistics. The value of the exports of Jamaica, in 1809, were greater than those of Cuba in 1826, and a comparison of the two islands gives the following:

Jamaica, in 1809,.....	\$15,166,000
Cuba, in 1826,.....	13,809,388
Jamaica, in 1854,.....	4,480,661
Cuba, in 1854,.....	31,683,731

What a picture is this of free negroism! What can the Abolitionist, who prates of free negroes laboring, say to these facts and figures? Cuba has been just as steadily advancing as Jamaica has been retrograding.

The productiveness of Cuba is most astonishing. Her exports are *more per head than those of any other country on the face of the globe*. Her export and import trade for 1859 was as follows:*

Exports for 1859,.....	\$57,455,185
Imports for 1859,.....	43,465,185

Showing an excess of exports over imports of	\$13,989,506
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Now, the population of Cuba is only about one million and a half, all told, black and white. Upon analyzing the above figures, then, it will be seen that

* Balanza General Del Comercio de la Isla de Cuba en 1859. Habana: 1861.

the exports of Cuba amount to **about \$40 per head for each man, woman and child on the island!** At the same time it should be noted that this great production is not all exchanged for articles imported, but there is a net income or surplus of exports over imports of \$13,989,506.

This net surplus of wealth amounts to \$9.32 cents for each man, woman and child in Cuba. No other country in the world can present such a picture of prosperity, and yet Cuba is by no means as productive as she might be. Through a mistaken policy, or supposed kindness to the negro, manumissions are easily procured, and freed negroes are multiplying so rapidly that her welfare will, ere long, be very seriously impaired, unless the evil be checked.

But it will be instructive to take a glance at our own exports and imports, so that we may be able to see how much we are dependent upon negro labor for our prosperity. The exports of the fiscal year ending June 30th, 1860, embracing specie and American produce, amounted to \$373,167,461; in addition to which we also re-exported about \$27,000,000 of foreign produce, the result standing as follows:

Exports for 1859-60,.....	\$400,167,465
Imports for 1859-60,.....	361,727,209

Excess of exports over imports....\$38,370,252

This gives a net surplus of only \$1.26 cents per capita, while in Cuba, an exclusively negro labor country, it is \$9.32 per head. Taking our *aggregate* domestic exports, and making a similar comparison, we find, calling our population in round numbers thirty millions, that our exports per head are \$12.43, against \$40 per capita in Cuba.

Having shown now that the exports of the United States, North, South and West amount, we will call it, to \$12½ per head, it will be interesting to *analyze* these exports and see where they come from. To whom is the country mainly indebted for this surplus wealth, which enables us to buy and pay for nearly four hundred mil-

lions of foreign goods per year? It is very certain that we can have no imports, unless we have something to pay for them. Nor can we have any commerce unless we have something to sell which other nations want. It has been shown that the specie and American produce exported were, as above stated, \$373,167,461; of this amount the specie was \$56,946,851. The amount of American produce consequently exported was \$316,220,610.

We propose to classify the amount furnished exclusively by the free States, the amount furnished by both the free and "slave" States, (which it is impossible to separate and designate the respective amount furnished by each,) and the amount furnished exclusively by the "slave" States.

FREE STATES EXCLUSIVELY.

Fisheries,.....	\$4,156,480
Coal,.....	731,817
Ice,.....	183,134

Total free States,..... \$5,071,431

FREE AND SLAVE STATES.

Products of the forest,.....	\$11,756,060
Products of agriculture,.....	20,206,265
Vegetable food,.....	25,656,494
Manufactures,.....	35,154,644
Manufactured articles,.....	2,397,031
Raw produce,.....	1,355,805

Total free and slave States,.. \$96,826,299

SLAVE STATES EXCLUSIVELY.

Cotton,.....	\$191,806,555
Tobacco,.....	15,906,547
Rosin and turpentine,.....	3,734,527
Rice,.....	2,566,390
Tar and pitch,.....	151,095
Brown sugar,.....	103,244
Molasses,.....	44,562
Hemp,.....	8,951

Total slave States,.....\$214,322,880

RECAPITULATION.

Free States exclusively,.....	\$5,071,431
Free and slave States,.....	96,826,299
Slave States exclusively,.....	214,322,880

Total,.....\$516,220,610

If any one will analyze the articles embraced in the amount, \$96,826,299, belonging alike to the North and the South, he can not fail to come to the conclusion that at least one third is justly the product of negro labor. The result, then, stands as follows :

Exports of Southern States,.....	\$246,598,318
Exports of Northern ".....	69,322,297

Total,.....\$316,220,610

Calling the population of the North, in round numbers, twenty millions, and the population of the South ten millions, we have the significant fact that while the exports of the North amount to only \$3.45 per head, those of the South amount to \$24.65!* It is not intended by this statement to deny that the North has vast industry, but white men, in a temperate or cold latitude, *consume* nearly all the products of their own labor, and hence it is, that in all ages, every nation which has acquired wealth and power, obtained them from tropical regions where the inferior races, in their normal relation to the superior race, produced them. It is thus self-evident that nearly all the wealth of our country is derived from negro servitude, for wealth is the surplus of production over consumption. The North has but little over—the South a great deal. It is the tropical regions which must be relied upon for this surplus wealth. When Spain held all her tropical possessions on this Continent, it is estimated that her net income from them was not less than \$50,000,000 annually, and she was the mistress of the world. When she lost them, her greatness and wealth declined, and she soon sunk to a third or fourth-rate power. Of late years she has been improving, and if she do not commit the folly of overthrowing the natural relation of the races, she will rapidly advance in power, wealth, and prosperity.

There is one other view of this question, which is very important,

* To this statement it may be objected that the North sends a vast quantity of produce and manufactured articles to the South, but it should be remembered that the South also sends a vast quantity of *her* produce North. Our consumption of cotton is about \$55,000,000; of sugar, \$25,000,000; besides naval stores, rice, tobacco, etc., which do not enter into our calculation of Southern exports, any more than the Northern articles sent South enter into the exports of the North. Our calculation is based upon the *foreign* exports, as these only represent the *surplus* wealth of the country.

and is worthy the careful attention of every person who desires to be well informed upon the *causes* of the greatness, grandeur and prosperity of his country. It is frequently asserted, by thoughtless people, who have never investigated this subject, that the North has supported the South, paid the expenses of the government, etc. Now, all *imports* are based upon *exports*, and hence it is the *exports*

which, in fact, furnish the revenue of a country, and *not* the imports, for the latter are but the representative of the former, without which they could not exist. Taking the history of our government for forty years, this view of the case presents some most astounding results, which are condensed with much labor in the following table:

RETURNS FROM THE TREASURY DEPARTMENT AT WASHINGTON, SHOWING THE VALUE OF THE EXPORTS AND IMPORTS FOR FORTY YEARS, FROM 1821 TO 1861, WITH THE CUSTOMS PAID DURING THE SAME TIME TO THE UNITED STATES.

Gross value of exports, from 1821 to 1861,.....	\$5,556,401,272
“ “ imports, “	5,501,238,157
Customs duties on imports, paid in the U. S. Treasury,.....	1,191,874,443

TOTAL UNITED STATES EXPORTS FOR FORTY YEARS.

Cotton,.....	\$2,574,834,991	
Tobacco,.....	424,118,067	
Rice,.....	87,854,511	
Naval stores,.....	110,981,296	
	\$3,198,850,965....	Amount of Duty
		\$689,141,805
Food,.....	1,006,951,335....	216,682,772
Gold,.....	458,588,615....	95,349,955
Crude articles, manufactures, etc.,.....	892,010,457....	190,699,910
	\$5,556,401,272...	\$1,191,874,443

EXPORTS FROM THE SOUTH EXCLUSIVELY, FOR FORTY YEARS.

Cotton,...	\$2,574,834,991	
Tobacco,.....	425,118,067	
Rice,.....	87,854,511	Amount of Duty, paid
Naval stores,.....	110,981,296....	by the South.
One third of food,.....	335,650,411....	\$689,141,805
40 per cent. gold,*.....	183,588,615....	72,227,591
	\$3,718,026,991	38,139,982
		\$799,508,378
Amount of duty from the North,.....		392,365,065
Difference,.....		\$407,244,313

It will thus be seen that Southern products have contributed to the support of the government nearly \$800,000,000, while Northern products have contributed less than half that sum! Can there be any doubt, therefore, in the mind of any candid and sensible

* Some people, without reflecting, may suppose that this estimate, giving the South one third of the gold production for forty years, is too high; but they should recollect that the estimate is made for forty years, and we have had gold from California for only ten or twelve years. Previous to that time we depended entirely upon the mines of Georgia, North and South Carolina, Virginia, and Maryland for our gold. These mines have been very productive, the Dorn mine in South Carolina bringing to the U. S. Mint, at Charlotte, \$220,000 to \$225,000 annually.

person, that this country owes its unparalleled prosperity to negro labor? We do not mean to say that this difference arises from any inferiority of Northern or superiority of Southern men, but solely from that *universal law of nature, that the cultivation of the tropics, carried on by the enforced labor of the inferior races, produces a large surplus over consumption, while white men in temperate latitudes consume nearly all they produce. Destroy this cultivation, and you destroy Northern commerce, labor, mechanics, manufactures, etc., etc., and reduce white men to poverty and privation.*

The comparative value of free negro labor and “slave” negro labor is

also forcibly illustrated in the *progress* of our own country, when compared with those places where the negro has been deprived of the guidance of the white man. It is often the habit of Abolition writers to compare the value of "free" and "slave" labor, in order to show the vast superiority of the former over the latter. But they are always very careful to have the comparison to occur between WHITE labor and negro labor. They never DARE to make a comparison between negro "FREE" labor and negro "SLAVE" labor. As white men are superior to negroes, their labor ought to be superior to theirs, and in all latitudes where white labor is available, it is more valuable, because more intelligent. There is no sense, therefore, in comparing Ohio with Alabama, simply because there are no grounds for a comparison. The white man could not do the work of the negro in Alabama, nor could the negro do the work of the intelligent farmer in Ohio. The real question is, are the Southern States in a better condition than the free negro countries? This is the correct test as to the success of free negroism. It is only necessary, in order to answer this question, to show the constant and steady increase of the great staple of cotton—a product that has done more for the comfort and happiness of the great toiling masses than any and all other productions of modern times:

Years.	Total Bales.	Export Value.
1800	35,000	\$5,726,000
1824	509,158	21,947,401
1830	870,415	29,674,883
1835	1,254,328	64,961,302
1840	2,177,532	63,870,303
1845	2,394,503	51,739,643
1850	2,796,700	71,984,616
1851	2,355,257	112,315,517
1852	3,015,029	87,965,732
1853	3,262,882	109,456,404
1854	2,930,027	93,596,220
1855	2,847,339	88,143,844
1856	3,527,841	128,382,351
1857	2,939,519	131,575,859
1858	3,113,962	131,386,661
1859	3,851,481	161,434,923
1860	4,300,000	184,400,000

What a grand and noble picture does not this present! Yet in 1817, the production of cotton in the West-Indies and the United States was just about the same! and Wm. Lloyd Garrison, Geo. Thompson and Dr. Channing, at the time of the West-India emancipation, predicted that free negro labor would soon drive all "slave" grown cotton out of the market! These architects of ruin, however, shut their eyes to the desolation they have achieved, and now, with the malignity of demons, desire to bring the calamities upon our own hitherto prosperous and happy country, which have marked the progress of the free-negro delusion in other places.

The territory cursed by free negroism in the West-Indies, however, is but a small portion of the space now blighted in the same manner. We have given no statistics of the condition of all that vast territory, comprising the fairest and most beautiful portion of our continent, extending from the Rio Grande almost to the Amazon. When it was under its Spanish conquerors, this territory, almost as large as the whole United States, was largely productive. Its capabilities, however, were never developed to any thing like their full extent, yet such cultivation as was commenced has been almost wholly abandoned. The country may be truly described as a desert, with only here and there an oasis, where a rude kind of cultivation produces just enough to let the world know that it is not an entire waste. Brazil, on the south, is the first spot where commerce and trade exist to any great extent, and there the negro has NOT BEEN FREED. We are thus able to count up, with perfect ease, the only places where tropical production is now carried on on this Continent—Cuba, Porto Rico, our own Gulf States and Brazil! Just four comparatively small green spots amid the wild and uncultivated yet fertile and glorious tropical regions of the western hemisphere!

PART III.

THE EFFECT OF EMANCIPATION UPON
TRADE, COMMERCE, AGRICULTURE,
AND WHITE LABOR.

No nation or people, from the days of imperial Babylon, has ever been great in wealth or power which did not possess the trade of the tropical regions of a continent. The wealth of the East-Indies made England what she is. With the riches which poured into her coffers, from 1750, after she expelled the Dutch from India, she was enabled to crush Napoleon, and raise herself to that power in the world which was formerly swayed by Rome. The rise and fall of imperial greatness in Asia and Europe has been determined by the possession of the trade of the East-Indies, where the enforced labor of two hundred millions of natives has formed an ever-flowing stream of wealth.

The Creator has intended our own tropical regions to be productive. They were not made "to waste their sweetness on the desert air." How are they to be made productive? That is the practical question of the hour. The negro has been brought here from Africa, where he had been a wild, untutored savage for centuries, just what he must and will be forever, (so far as we are able to judge by all the facts before us,) when he is separated from the white man. This negro has been made available for just the work to be done. The white men of this continent need and **MUST HAVE** cotton, sugar, coffee, indigo, and spices. Without these, civilization is put back five hundred years. True, we **MIGHT** again drag along as our ancestors did, the rich only being able to afford good clothing. The poor might manufacture their own by spinning, and carding, and weaving. Sugar, coffee, etc., might be again unknown luxuries. The farmer might have little or no market for his grains; but this would not satisfy us. These articles must be had, and they can not be had

without the enforced labor of the negro.

Already white men have been, and are to-day, seriously taxed on account of emancipation of this negro. Take the two items of sugar and coffee alone. If we estimate the decline in the production of sugar and coffee by the reduction that has taken place in Jamaica and other places, it is fair to calculate that, were all the negroes, now lolling in the sun, eating yams and laughing at white men, set to work, we should have at least **THREE TIMES** the amount of both articles now produced. Such a production would decrease the price at least **ONE HALF**, thus furnishing the white men of this country with their groceries at fifty per cent less than present prices.

Let us look at this subject a little more closely. The "grocery bill" of the people of the United States is computed* annually at \$86,928,000. Our imports of coffee, sugar, tobacco, and molasses, for 1853, amounted in value to \$38,479,000, of which the negro "slaves" of Cuba and Brazil supplied \$34,451,000. The balance of these four articles that we need, \$48,449,000, is the product of our own "slave" States. The "grocery bill" of the people of the United States, therefore, stands indebted as follows:

To Negro "Slave" labor.....	\$82,900,000
To all other sources.....	4,028,000

A great many well-meaning people no doubt sincerely believe that it would be good policy to emancipate the negroes engaged in producing this \$82,000,000 worth of groceries for the North. If it were done, the result is apparent. All kinds of groceries would rise in price to such an extent that no one but perhaps the wealthy classes could afford to use them. The negro, if freed in the tropical regions, ceases to produce; and all know that the less of an article produced, the higher the price, and of course the greater the tax upon the consumer. Every negro, therefore, lazily squatting in the West-Indies, and, as the *London Times* says, "sniggering at

* Professor David Christy, in *Cotton is King*.

Buckra," takes something from the pocket of every consumer of sugar, coffee, and molasses. The cost of tropical productions is now fifty per cent above what it ought to be. Coffee ought to be had for about the tax now upon it, and sugar in proportion. We are paying nearly NINETY MILLIONS of dollars annually for our groceries—FORTY MILLIONS of it at least ought to be saved, and would be, if every negro were fulfilling the Heaven-decreed ordinance of labor.

But the tax of emancipation upon the North is not fully seen in the increased price of coffee, sugar, tobacco, etc. Every negro freed in the tropics becomes at once a non-consumer of Northern products. When at work on the plantation, he eats bacon and bread, and is furnished with plenty of good, coarse clothing, shoes, hats, etc. When freed, as we have shown, he eats yams and plantains mainly, and consumes little or nothing of Northern productions. The farmer and mechanic, therefore, are taxed by his idleness in two ways—First, by an increase in the price of coffee, sugar, etc.; and secondly, by a decrease in the DEMAND for their own productions. It was not until the extension of "slavery" occurred in Alabama, Mississippi and Louisiana, that the Western farmer began to get any thing like remunerative prices for his grain. And it is a singular fact that, the column of black labor on the Gulf, and of white labor above the 36th parallel of latitude, have kept right along *pari passu*. The one is the handmaid of the other. Carry out emancipation on the Gulf, and you destroy the farmer in Ohio, Illinois, Indiana, and Iowa. It would be of little use to remove the blockade of the Mississippi if the negro is to be freed. Sectional agitators have educated the Northern mind to believe that there is an antagonism between what they call "free and slave labor," that is, between white labor and negro labor. Now, the real truth is that there never was a more perfect harmony in the world than that existing between white labor and

negro labor, and when we say negro labor, we mean so-called "slave" labor, for we must disabuse ourselves of the fallacy, that there is any such a thing as *productive free negro labor*. The negro, as we have shown, on a plantation, becomes a consumer of the agricultural productions of the Northern farmer, and the skilled labor of the Northern mechanic. His labor therefore sets in motion cotton factories and machine-shops. THE MUSCLES OF THE NEGRO AND THE INTELLECT OF THE WHITE MAN THUS BECOME THE GREAT AGENCIES OF MODERN CIVILIZATION. The exchange of the products of the one for the other constitutes OUR COMMERCE, gives employment to shipping, erects our banks, lines our streets with marble palaces, and makes a rocky island like New-York, the seat of untold wealth. Destroy this tropical production, that is, emancipate the negroes, and the commerce that flows from it would be annihilated, and New-York would be in the position of the city of Alexandria when the Portuguese discovered the route for the East-India commerce by the way of the Cape of Good Hope.

But people often say, is not the North great and powerful by herself? We answer, as history attests, that no nation has ever been great in commerce and wealth that did not have the trade of the tropical regions of a continent. What are all the productions of agriculture unless there is a market for them? The matter can be illustrated thus: Suppose all the negroes of Brazil, Cuba, and the Southern States, from which we now derive all our groceries, were set to raising grain, etc., for their own subsistence. Of course there would be no exchange of commodities and no commerce. The world is constituted with different climates and productions for the purposes of exchange and commerce. Each hemisphere has its temperate and tropical regions, and those regions require different labor. To overthrow that form of labor, by which only the tropics

can be cultivated, is as criminal as it would be to overthrow the system of labor necessary for the temperate latitudes. The tropics can not be cultivated by "freed" negroes any more than the temperate latitudes could be by putting white men in slavery. Looking to Europe as a market for our agricultural productions is a mistake. Each hemisphere of the world is mainly independent of the other. For centuries they existed without the knowledge of each other. The foreign call for our agricultural productions occurs perhaps in one year out of five, but our real and permanent markets are the tropics of our own continent, and to these our farmers should direct their attention. If every negro in Mexico, Central America, New-Granada, and the West-Indies, were this day industriously at work, we judge each white laborer in the North would have his wages increased nearly one half, while the cost of articles for his family would be decreased in about the same ratio. The Western farmer, now getting only eight or ten cents per bushel for his corn, ought to and would then get twenty-five cents. Each man, therefore, can compute the expense of emancipation as it effects himself personally. The laboring classes, then, instead of living in close, ill-ventilated apartments, where the light of day is scarcely permitted to enter, might afford neat and agreeable cottages. The demoralization of huddling human beings together would be mainly obviated, and the education, intelligence, and morality of the white population vastly increased. While emancipation has conferred no benefit on the negro, yet its most serious results have fallen on *white men*. It enslaves them, it binds burdens upon them, and if in contact with this free negro, he becomes their legal equal, and among the debased and vicious leads to amalgamation. Philanthropists have dreamed of social reforms, of the elevation of the white laboring classes, and predicted a future wherein want should be comparatively unknown, and labor meet

an adequate reward; but they have been looking for it through social reforms, perhaps convulsions. The great want is remunerative labor. Where can it be had? is the universal cry. The farmer wants better prices for his grain, the mechanic for his labor. Why do they not get them? The answer is summed up: *Thirty degrees of latitude on our continent are almost a desert waste. The finest countries the sun of heaven ever shone upon are a wilderness simply because no one will "till the ground."* Hence there is not sufficient market for the farmer, for the mechanic, for the laborer of the temperate latitude. *He has no one who stands ready to consume what he is anxious to produce, and there is no one ready to produce what he stands ready to purchase.* Shall we, therefore, go on in this career of folly? Shall we shut our eyes to facts, and in sheer party madness rush on to national suicide? All around us are scattered the ruins of emancipation. Torn and distracted Mexico, desolate and wild Central America, silent and deserted New-Granada, ruined and savage Hayti, dilapidated and broken-down Jamaica, all testify in thunder tones to beware of the breakers of emancipation. On the contrary, Brazil, Cuba, and Porto Rico are the marts of commerce and trade. Wherever the negro occupies the relation of servitude to the white man, all is happiness and prosperity. Where he does not, all is social chaos and blight.

CONCLUSION.

1. The foregoing pages show that these naturally fertile regions have been nearly withdrawn from the commerce of the world. The little that remains springs from a lingering force of former improvements, or from articles requiring little culture to prepare them for a market.

2. It appears that a gradual Africanization is passing over the people, which points back to their fatherland for its permanent type—a type which has been the same ever since the

Portuguese attempted to civilize by Christianizing the west coast of Africa, nearly four hundred years ago.

Had these and other fields of emancipation around the Gulf kept their former position in the market of the world, or had they obviously lost that position by misfortune, they would have furnished an argument in favor of further emancipations. Their American friends predicted and hoped for this result. Their English friends (except the planters in Jamaica) cared little about it; for they were still nauseous over our revolution, and cherished a rival interest in Asia, Australia, and the Eastern Islands.

Our reformers are slow to admit the whole truth of these results. They denied for a long time, then tried to excuse the thriftless course of these people, and now, under political pressure, they allege that the separation of master and servant must be effected without regard to consequences of this sort.

The price paid by England to separate the master and servant in Jamaica was the boast of the whole English press, as a vast sacrifice to the cause of African civilization. Not so now. There has been a larger generalization; new elements have come into the argument; the discussion has ranged over the relations of an *unlimited* population to a *limited* surface of a food-growing earth; and the *London Times* has more than intimated that Exeter Hall had led the British Parliament into a social blunder in regard to Jamaica. But the English press is now nearly unanimous in the conclusion that the only good done to the Africans in Jamaica and St. Domingo has been to deliver them from labor, and consequently from appearing in the commerce of the world. And, to turn the sharp edge of this conclusion, some of the English social philosophers ask: "What business is it of the whites, that the blacks in America shall do one thing or another, or nothing?"

If mere exemption from moderate labor is the sum of all the good to

the emancipated, in return for the Africanization of the tropical regions of America—and this concession is claimed from the whites in cold climates of the United States—then we must look deeper into the relation of the two races north of the Gulf of Mexico, and our reformers must not be surprised if we ultimately, in behalf of a common humanity, put a stop to the Africanization on the south side of the Gulf.

The two races had wants which could be better supplied in America than in Europe or Africa. The whites foresaw their future; but the blacks could not, because they know no past; and therefore the whites constrained the blacks to come.

The whites took the cold climate, and placed the blacks in the warm, just as they had been at home.

The whites left feudal masters, in a small country, and gained large freeholds in a great country.

The blacks left little and gained much. The blacks gained a full supply of the wants of themselves and their families, with freedom from care about an employer, a sick-day, a sick family, a birth or a funeral. Never before had they fancied such a condition of life.

The blacks left the same cannibal tribes, the same fetishes and witches, and the same wars, which Du Châlin found in Africa five years ago, where the chief of the last tribe he reached, in the interior, sent him, as a complimentary breakfast, a little boy to be roasted. America is the Paradise of the blacks. Would they leave it? The Colonization Society asked them, Mr. Lincoln asked them. Did they go? Political emancipation may constrain a few; military necessity may drive more; but the millions will be buried where they were born, in the sunny South. The blacks never have regretted that their race was brought to America.

THE PROBLEM TO BE SOLVED.

But the blacks were placed in America as coöperating partners of the whites. They grow large, and

strong, and healthful, and long-lived on the food and clothing produced for them. Their coöperation is the essence of our prosperity: they must not spoil it. We are as essential to each other as boys on the opposite ends of an up-and-down plank. They have the warm end of the plank, and we the cold. The cold constrains us to work hard to provide for a long winter; and nothing but *changing work* with them makes our winter tolerable, and bring us through.

On an east and west line, in the same climate, coöperative labor may be useful, if the one country is more advanced in its manufactures, or if it is rich in mines, but, even then, the utility requires that she shall have free access to tropical products. If the coal and iron and consequent manufactures of England induce her to take our corn and pork, it is because she gets from Asia and Brazil the price of her goods to pay us; and the time may come when we shall make similar goods for those markets. If England should sink in the ocean, it would not permanently check the prosperity of American civilization. Our coal and iron fields would work us out. But let our tropical lands (which are made small by the Gulf of Mexico) be sunk from our commerce, by Africanization, and we shall go down together. Labor-saving machines can not save us. The steam-engines down-town could not build palaces up-town and colleges at Princeton, by the *cheap manufacture* of sugar, if like engines did not *first produce cheap* sugar in the *tropics*. Machinery only makes the relations of the two races more essential to the North. For the machines open the way for a four-fold population in the North *only* on condition that the South increases its products for our use. Our great civilization rose on the abundance and cheapness of tropical products. Tropical cotton and wool in New-England enriched the boys and girls who peopled the West, and the West nursed her millions, because of the interchanges above and below Cairo.

HOW THE MODERATE LABOR OF THE BLACKS GIVES SOME LEISURE AND LUXURY TO THE WHITES.

Climate is the chief agent in this operation. The effects of climate on men and things teach laws, on this subject, which must be observed by those who would go with us in the further examination of this matter.

By the mere difference of climate, one cotton or cane field, under the same labor, is worth four corn-fields, and the support of the laborer costs less. The three fourths saved by climate are claimed by capital, commerce, and cold, and accumulate in the North.

But the products are such as we can not dispense with. The loss of them would send us back to the age of the Crusades. What sort of a toilet would a lady make of mere wool and flax? What sort of a table could a matron set forth with Indian corn, insipid pumpkins, sour apples, hard cider, and fox-grapes, without the sweets, spices, and coffee of the South?

The first smile that relaxed the grim face of the Pilgrims was raised by the sight of a West-India trader. And, perhaps, an abundant and cheap supply of tropical products induced a Boston minister to say at thanksgiving, that while he was very proud of his descent from the Puritans, he was equally thankful that the Puritans had not descended to us. The genial power of these products is akin to that of sun-rays. It can melt the iron heart of a disappointed reformer, and almost soften into modesty the temper of an escaped martyr!

Before the use of cotton-machinery, the English ships used to go, once in each year, to the Deccan, carrying food to the poor serfs, who made India shirting for our use, at one dollar a yard. They had made their cloths as usual, had delivered his share to the landlord, and waited for the ships to fetch them food; but the machines had made better cloths in England, at half the price. No ship came; and one hundred thousand of the tenants died of starvation.

To us, the failure of the blacks to coöperate will entail just as sure a diminution of the people; but it will come more gradually, and be less obvious, because the market of the world will be open, to give us temporary relief, until the prices of a diminished supply of cotton, groceries, etc., lift them out of our reach; and we turn from one cheap article to another, until insufficient food, and clothing, and fuel do their work of grinding a large and vigorous population into a small and weak peasantry.

We have shown that had all the blacks, whose labor has been withdrawn by emancipation, continued in the field, they would have been better provided for than they are now, and we might have had sugar at four cents a pound, and cotton and coffee at eight.

But this would not have met the requirement of the "reformers" in England and France. The same spirit has spread over our "reformers." No adjustment, no amendment, no melioration of the tie that binds the blacks to coöperation can be accepted. It is vain to show them, by the sad examples in these pages, that the blacks, being once fairly off the plank, are not likely to return. They talk of the unrequited labor of the blacks. We answer them, by comparing their requital with that of the laboring class in the North. They talk of hardships in the South, and we prove to them that there is more laughing and dancing on one plantation than in a dozen Northern factories. They talk of religious privileges, and we show them that there is as much singing, and praying, and preaching, and as large communions among the blacks as among the whites in the North..

But the blacks are not free. The whole history in these pages shows that, in the vocabulary of the blacks, liberty is a license not to work. And the whole matter comes to this: a necessity is laid on the "reformers!" They have a mission from human nature. A moral necessity is upon them. They are sent to preach the gospel of laziness to the blacks! They have put some of their spirit upon the President. He catches the idea of the mission, that it is the gospel of laziness. Being a military chieftain, he feels a military necessity to cut the cord which binds the blacks to the whites, and then, to rid his country of the laziness, he beseeches the blacks to go away—somewhere: and beseeches us to pay somebody a thousand millions of dollars for the privilege of abstaining from cotton, coffee, and sugar.

The "reformers" have had help. The war brought on by their movement has precipitated the practical results of a success which is not yet quite sure. Practically the link is broken—the blacks are pushed off the plank, and we of the North, who are not in office, are rolling in the dirt. The sugar and the coffee are gone out of the laborer's dinner-pail; his ragged cotton-shirt can not be replaced; the Sunday-clothes of his children are unsightly; (the son who used to work at his side is drafted:) but yield not to despair! Carry these symbols of a poverty not induced by your fault to the assembly of these apostles of laziness, and hold them up to their eyes, and say *you did it*. And when the day of deliverance comes, march with your comrades to the ballot-box and say to these "reformers," Now, *we* will do it.

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THE ABOLITION CONSPIRACY.

THAT the Abolitionists deliberately formed a conspiracy to destroy the Federal Union, under which these States were united in one government for purposes of general protection and mutual benefit and defense, admits of no doubt in any rational mind. Too cowardly, however, to commence their revolutionary proceedings by force of arms, they set to work, by every conceivable expedient, to get hold of the Federal Government, drive the South to resistance, and then, under the false pretence of "preserving the Union," carry out their long-cherished revolutionary purposes. The old Abolition party was too open and undisguised an organization to effect this purpose. The "Republican party," therefore, combining all the virulence of the old, simon-pure Abolition creed, with the most adroit and cunning hypocrisy, was organized to carry out this purpose. We propose to trace it *by its own record*. We commence, first, with the great pioneers of the Abolition movement, Garrison and Phillips.—For years they did not join the Republican party, because it did not come up to their ideas of a simon-pure anti-slavery organization.—Still, they always encouraged it, and prophesied that it would eventually be all right—that it was educating the people to the proper point—**ABOLITION OR DISUNION**. Here is

THE PLATFORM OF PHILLIPS AND GARRISON.

The Constitution of our fathers was a mistake. *Tear it in pieces and make a better*. Don't say the machine is out of order; it is in order; it does what its framers intended—protect slavery. Our claim is **DISUNION, BREAKING UP OF THE STATES!** I have shown you that our work cannot be done under our institutions.—**WENDELL PHILLIPS**.

THIS UNION IS A LIE! THE AMERICAN UNION IS AN IMPOSTURE, A COVENANT WITH DEATH, AND AN AGREEMENT WITH HELL! . . . I AM FOR ITS OVERTHROW! . . . Up with the flag of **DISUNION**, that we may have a free and glorious Republic of our own; and when the hour shall come, the hour will have arrived that shall witness the overthrow of slavery.—**WM. LLOYD GARRISON**.

Such was the platform of these two bold but bad and honest men. They said just what they wanted to accomplish. The Republican leaders were more cautious, but their doctrines always tended to the same result, and hence the sympathy between them. Here is what Phillips said of the Republican party, when it was organized as a sectional party, and it will be noticed how well and how truly he pictured it:

PLEDGED AGAINST THE SOUTH.

No man has a right to be surprised at this state of things. It is just what we

[Abolitionists and Disunionists] have attempted to bring about. It is the *first sectional party ever organized in this country*. It does not know its own face, and calls itself national; but *it is not national*—it is sectional. The Republican party is a party of the North *pledged against the South*.—WENDELL PHILLIPS.

MOULDING PUBLIC OPINION.

Again, Garrison, in his *Liberator*, said still more explicitly :

The Republican party is moulding public sentiment in the right direction for the specific work the Abolitionists are striving to accomplish, viz.:—THE DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION, AND THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY THROUGHOUT THE LAND.

All the while that the Abolitionists were talking thus boldly, the Republican leaders pretended to the people that Garrison and Phillips did not represent their sentiments; but let it be remembered that they expressed almost substantially the same sentiments, yet in more vague and uncertain language. As a general rule, they seemed to be pleased with, and in favor of the Constitution and the Union, but tried to make the people believe that George Washington formed a Union for *negro* freedom and *negro equality*! or, in other words, a Union that would have placed him on a level with his own negroes! People ought to have been too sensible to have been humbugged with such stuff, but many were.

We now proceed to notice the sentiments of so-called Republicans. First, we will see

THE POSITION OF THE REPUBLICAN LEADERS.

Rejecting the bold, outspoken position of Garrison & Co., that the Con-

stitution and the Union protected the rights of slaveholders, and recognised the subordinate position of the negro race, Lincoln, Seward, Chase, Greeley & Co. had the amazing audacity to contend that the Constitution and the Union meant negro citizenship, negro voting, negro office-holding, in a word, negro equality! and openly avowed their design of getting hold of the Federal Government, in order to carry out this revolutionary and treasonable design. What Garrison and Phillips honestly declared could be accomplished only by an *overthrow* of the Union and the Constitution, these men impudently assumed could be carried out *under* both. That there may be no mistake we give their quibbling, pettifogging position and arguments in full :

ABRAHAM LINCOLN'S OPINIONS.

THE EQUALITY OF ALL MEN.

On the 16th of October, 1854, Abraham Lincoln delivered a speech at Peoria, Illinois, in which he used the following language :—

What I do say is, that no man is good enough to govern another man *without the other's consent*. I say this is the leading principle, the *Sheet Anchor of American Republicanism*. Our Declaration of Independence says :

“We hold these truths to be self-evident,—that all men are *created equal*; that they are endowed by their Creator with certain inalienable rights; that among these are life, *Liberty*, and the pursuit of happiness. That to secure these rights, governments are instituted among men, *deriving their just power from the consent of the governed*.”

I have quoted so much at this time merely to show that according to our ancient faith, the powers of Government are derived from the consent of the governed. Now, the relation of master and

slave is, *pro tanto*, a total violation of this principle. The master not only governs the slave without his consent, but he governs him by a set of rules altogether different from those which he prescribes for himself. Allow All the governed an *Equal voice in the Government*; and that, and that only, is self-government.—*Howell's Life of Lincoln*, page 279.

Again, in a speech delivered in Chicago which we find published in the *Illinois State Journal*, the State organ of the Black Republican party of Illinois, on the 16th of September, 1856, Mr. Lincoln said:

The central idea, in our political opinion, at the beginning was, and until recently continued to be, the *equality of men*. And, although it was always submitted patiently to whatever inequality there seemed to be as a matter of actual necessity, its constant working has been a steady progress toward the *practical equality of all men*.

Let past differences be as nothing; and, with steady eye on the real issue, let us re-inaugurate the good old *central idea* of the Republic. We can do it. The human heart is with us; God is with us. We shall again be able not only to declare that all the States, as States, are equal, nor yet that all citizens, as citizens, are equal, but renew the broader, better declaration, including both these and *much more* that all men are created equal.

IN FAVOR OF NEGRO EQUALITY.

Yet again, in his speech at Chicago, on the 10th of July, 1858, Mr. Lincoln said:

I should like to know if, taking the old Declaration of Independence, which declares that all men are equal upon principle, and making exceptions to it, where will it stop? *If one man says it does not mean a negro, why not another say it does not mean some other man?*

If that declaration is not the truth, let us get the statute book where we find it and tear it out. Who is so bold as to do it? If it is not true, let us tear it out? [Cries of "No, no!"] *Let us stick to it, then, let us stand firmly by it, then. * * * * Let us discard all this quibbling about this man and the other man—this race and that race and the other race being inferior, and therefore they must be placed in an inferior position—discarding the standard that we have left us. Let us discard all these things, and unite as one people throughout this land until we shall once more stand up declaring that all men are created equal. * * * * I leave you hoping that the lamp of liberty will burn in your bosoms until there shall no longer be a doubt that all men are created free and equal. See "Debates between Lincoln and Douglas," revised by Mr. Lincoln after his nomination for the presidency, pages 23, 24.*

THE "IRREPRESSIBLE CONFLICT!"

We believe Mr. Lincoln claims to be the author of the "irrepressible conflict" idea. At least we find him giving it utterance in his speech a Springfield, Illinois, on the 17th of June, 1858. We quote from the volume of debates between Lincoln and Douglas, page 1. Mr. Lincoln said:

We are now far into the fifth year since a policy was initiated with the avowed object and confident promise of putting an end to slavery agitation. Under the operation of that policy, that agitation has not only not ceased, but has constantly augmented. In my opinion, it will not cease until a crisis shall have been reached and passed. "*A house divided against itself cannot stand.*" *I believe this Government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free.*

That is, that it cannot endure as Washington formed it, and as it existed for seventy years. Mr. Garrison was of

exactly the same opinion, and though Mr. Lincoln does not say all that Mr. Garrison does, yet the person must be short-sighted who cannot see what Mr. Lincoln's real meaning is. And if any proof were needed of the identity of their principles, it is to be found in the fact that Mr. Lincoln has at last *openly come to Garrison's platform!*

LINCOLN IN FAVOR OF THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY AND THE HIGHER LAW!

In his tenth of July speech, in Chicago (see Debates, page 15), Mr. Lincoln in reply to some strictures on his Springfield speech, said :

I did not even say that I desired that slavery should be put in course of ultimate extinction. *I do say so now, however; so there need be no longer any difficulty about that. It may be written down in that speech.*

I have always hated slavery, I think, as much as any abolitionist—I have been an old line Whig—I have always hated it; but I have always been quiet about it until this new era of the introduction of the Nebraska bill began. I always believed that everybody was against it, and that it was in course of Ultimate Extinction.

WM. H. SEWARD'S OPINIONS.

THE CONSTITUTION VOID.

Wm. H. Seward, following out the same ideas inculcated by Lincoln, says :

But assuming the same premises, to wit: that all men are equal by the law of nature and of nations, the right of property in slaves falls to the ground; for one who is the equal of another cannot be the owner or property of that other. *But you answer that the Constitution recognizes property in slaves. It would be sufficient, then, to reply that this Constitutional recognition must be*

void, because it is repugnant to the law of nature and of nations.—Seward's Works, vol. i., p. 71.

Four months after Mr. Lincoln's speech of the 17th of June, 1858, we find the Hon. Wm. H. Seward, expressing the same idea in his speech at Rochester, N. Y.:

Thus these antagonistic systems are continually coming into closer contact, and collision results. Shall I tell you what this collision means? They who think it is accidental, unnecessary, the work of interested fanatical agitators, and therefore ephemeral, mistake the case altogether. *It is an irrepressible conflict between opposing and enduring forces, and it means that the United States must and will, sooner or later, become entirely a slaveholding nation, or entirely a free-labor nation.*

VIOLATE THE FUGITIVE SLAVE LAW.

Again, Mr. Seward says :

Extend a cordial welcome to the fugitive who lays his weary limbs at your door, and defend him as you would your paternal gods. *Correct your own error, that slavery has any Constitutional guarantee which may not be released, and ought not to be relinquished.* Say to slavery, when it shows its bond and demands the pound of flesh, that if it draws one drop of blood, *its life shall pay the forfeit.* * * * * Do all this, and inculcate all this * * * and you will soon bring the parties of the country into an effective aggression upon slavery. *Whenever the public mind shall will the abolition of slavery, the way will open for it.—Seward's Works, vol. iii., pp. 301-2.*

SLAVERY MUST BE ABOLISHED.

Mr. Seward, in his great speech at Cleveland, Ohio, in the canvass of 1848, used the following explicit and unmistakable language :

Slavery can be limited to its present bounds; it can be ameliorated. *It can be and it must be Abolished, and you and I can and must do it.* The task is as simple and easy as its consummation will be beneficent, and its rewards glorious. It only requires to follow this simple rule of action: to do everywhere and on every occasion what we can, and not to neglect or refuse to do what we can, at any time, because at that precise time, and on that particular occasion, we cannot do more. *Circumstances determine possibilities.*

Again, in a speech in the Senate, March, 1858, Mr. Seward said:

The interests of the white race demand the Ultimate Emancipation of all men. Whether that consummation shall be allowed to take effect, with needful and wise precautions against sudden change and disaster, *or be hurried on by Violence,* is all that remains for you to decide.

Again, in his speech at Albany, Oct. 12, 1855, Mr. Seward said:

Slavery is not, and never can be, perpetual. It will be overthrown either peacefully and lawfully under this Constitution, or it will work the subversion of the Constitution, together with its own overthrow. Then the **SLAVEHOLDERS WOULD PERISH IN THE STRUGGLE.**

Again, in his speech in the Senate, March 11, 1850, Mr. Seward threatens the South with "civil war" unless they emancipate their slaves. He said:

When this answer shall be given, it will appear that the question of dissolving the Union is a complex question, that embraces the fearful issue whether the Union shall stand, and slavery, under the steady, peaceful action of moral, social and political causes, be removed by gradual, voluntary effort, and with compensation, *or whether the UNION SHALL BE DISSOLVED, and civil war en-*

sue, bringing on violent but complete and immediate emancipation. We are now arrived at that stage when that crisis can be foreseen—when we must foresee it. It is directly before us. Its shadow is upon us.

In plain words, Mr. Seward says to the South: You can have union and the gradual emancipation of slavery, or you *shall* have disunion, civil war, and immediate emancipation! This, in plain English, was his proposition.

THE HIGHER LAW.

Still later, in 1860, at Boston, he boldly proclaimed:

What a commentary upon the history of man is the fact that eighteen years after the death of John Quincy Adams *the people have for their standard-bearer Abraham Lincoln, confessing the obligations of the higher law* which the Sage of Quincy proclaimed, *and contending for weal or woe, for life or death, in the Irrepressible Conflict between freedom and slavery. I desire only to say that we are in the last stage of the conflict before the great triumphant inauguration of this policy into the Government of the United States.*

HE TAUNTS THE SOUTH.

Following in the same strain, Mr. Seward, in his speech in the Senate, April 9, 1856, jeered the South with the taunting menace that she should have no repose, but that rifles and cannon would take the place of words. Hear him:

The solemnity of the occasion draws over our heads that cloud of disunion which always arises whenever the subject of slavery is agitated. Still the debate goes on more ardently, earnestly and angrily than ever before. It employs now not merely logic, reproach,

menace, retort and defiance, BUT SABRES, RIFLES AND CANNON. Do you look through this incipient war quite to the end, and see there peace, quiet and harmony on the subject of slavery? If so, pray enlighten me and show me how long the way is which leads to that repose. * * *

RECOMMENDS DISUNION.

After showing that this agitation will lead to war between the North and the South, Mr. Seward suggest to the Pacific States that then would be their time to withdraw from the Union; he continues:

Then the free States and slave States of the Atlantic, divided and warring with each other, would disgust the free States of the Pacific, and they would have *abundant cause and justification for withdrawing from a Union* productive no longer of peace, safety and liberty to themselves, and no longer holding up the cherished hopes of mankind.

SALMON P. CHASE'S OPINIONS.

IN FAVOR OF NEGRO VOTING. &c.

Salmon P. Chase, twice elected Governor of Ohio, and now Mr. Lincoln's Secretary of the Treasury, was presented with a silver pitcher by the negroes of Cincinnati on the 6th of May, 1845. In response to the presentation, he said:

In what I have done I cannot claim to have acted from any peculiar consideration of the colored people as a separate and distinct class in the community, but from the simple conviction that all the individuals of that class are members of the community, and, in virtue of their manhood, *entitled to every original right enjoyed by any other member*. We feel, therefore, that all *Legal Distinction* between individuals of the same community, founded in any such circumstances

as color, origin, and the like, are *hostile to the genius of our institutions*, and incompatible with the true theory of American liberty. *Slavery and oppression must cease, or American liberty must perish.*

In Massachusetts, and in most, if not all, the New England States, the colored man and the white are absolutely equal before the law.

In New York the colored man is restricted as to the right of suffrage by a property qualification. In other respects the same equality prevails.

I embrace with pleasure this opportunity of declaring *My Disapprobation of that clause of the Constitution which denies to a portion of the colored people the right of suffrage.*

True Democracy makes no inquiry about the color of the skin or place of nativity, or any other similar circumstance of condition. I regard therefore the *exclusion of the colored people as a body from the elective franchise as incompatible with true Democratic principles.*

Mr. Chase, in the speech delivered in Cincinnati, from which we have already quoted, as above, said:

For myself I am ready to renew my pledge, and I will venture to speak in behalf of my co-workers, that we will go straight on, without faltering or wavering, *until every vestige of oppression is erased from the statute-books*—until the sun, in all his journey from the utmost eastern horizon the mid-heaven, till he sinks behind the western bed, shall *not behold the footprint of a single slave in all our broad and glorious land.*

Mr. Chase, a speech at Pontiac, Michigan, in 1856, thus stated the issue, or rather his conception of the issue, between the parties:

I ask you to take sides and decide where you will be. "If the Lord be God, then serve him: but if Baal, then serve him." If slavery is right; if capital ought to own labor; then go for the

doctrine openly. If you believe that freedom is the right of man, then join the party which has inscribed on the folds of its banner, "*Freedom throughout the Country's wide domain!*"

HORACE GREELEY'S OPINION.

ALL DISTINCTIONS OF COLOR UNJUST.

Now, let us hear from Horace Greeley, "the chief cook and bottle-washer" in the Chicago Convention, whose efforts there brought about the nomination of Lincoln. As far back as the 17th of January, 1851, Greeley thus spoke in his *Tribune*:

*We loathe and detest all laws which give or withhold political rights on account of color. "A man's a man for a' that," and ought to have the full rights of manhood, whether his ancestors were Celts, Goths, or Hottentots, whether his complexion be ebony or ivory. * * ** All constitutional exclusions of any class from the polls, the jury-box, &c., because of color, are aristocratic, unjust, and infamous.

ABOLITION OF SLAVERY IN THE STATES
THE REAL OBJECT AIMED AT.

Horace Greeley, in the *Tribune* of July 27th, 1854, in reply to a letter of James E. Birney's, acknowledges that he will be in favor of abolishing slavery in the States "as soon as practicable."

Admit that abolition in the State is what all men ought to strive for, and it is clear to my mind that a large majority are not prepared for this, and the practical question is this; shall we politically attempt what will certainly involve us in defeat and failure? or shall we not rather attempt that which a majority are ripe for, and thus, by our consequent triumph, invite that majority to go further? Shall we insist on having all the possible eggs now, or be content to await their appearance day by day? The latter seems to us the

only rational, sensible course. We care not how fast Messrs. Birney & Co. may ripen public sentiment in the North for Emancipation, we will aid them to the best of our ability; but we will not refuse the good now within our reach, out of deference to that which is as yet unattainable. Mr. Birney's "ultimatum" may be just what he sees fit; we have not proposed to modify or meddle with it. We only ask that he shall not interdict or prevent the doing of some good at once, merely because he would like to do more good, as we shall, also, whenever it shall become practicable.

NOMINATES FRED. DOUGLASS FOR CONGRESS.

Again, in 1855, we see him proposing and urging the nomination for Congress of that notorious negro, Fred. Douglass. Just listen to him:

Among the candidates put up by the Convention of the Liberty party at Utica, on Wednesday, is Mr. Frederick Douglass, of Monroe county, who is nominated for the office of Secretary of State. With respect to ability, a better nomination could hardly be desired; but we confess that we should regret to see Mr. Douglass elected. *His proper place is not a member of the State Administration at Albany, but as a member of Congress at Washington.* For the former office he possesses no qualifications that might not be found in other gentlemen, while for the duties of a representative at Washington he is particularly gifted. As an orator and debater he possesses both the force and the grace of a Virginia gentleman of the old school and one of the first families, to which a great depth of conviction, and a resolution worthy of the best days of the Republic, add a persuasive and magnetic charm not often felt in the Federal Capitol. We trust, then, that the friends of Mr. Douglass will not persist in urging his election to the office for which he is nominated, but will make every preparation to return him to Congress on the very first vacancy in the Monroe district.

BURN THE CAPITAL RATHER THAN FAIL.

Now hear Horace Greeley thunder forth his revolutionary advice to the Black Republicans in Congress, when the Kansas Nebraska bill was pending :

We urge, therefore, unbending determination on the part of the Northern members hostile to this intolerable outrage, and demand of them in behalf of peace, in behalf of freedom, in behalf of justice and humanity, *resistance to the last. Better that confusion should ensue—better that discord should reign in the national councils—better that Congress should break up in wild discord—nay, better that the Capitol itself should blaze by the torch of the incendiary, or fall and bury its inmates beneath its crumbling ruins*, than that this perfidy and wrong shall be finally accomplished.

ABUSE OF THE STARS AND STRIPES.

The hatred that Horace Greeley and the men who sympathize with him, have for the Union of WASHINGTON, is well illustrated by the following song which appeared in the *Tribune* of June 13th, 1854, and even now not condemned by Mr. Greeley, who, in acknowledging, in the summer of 1863, that he published it, intimated no objection to the sentiments it contains :

ODE TO THE AMERICAN FLAG.

All hail the flaunting Lie !
The stars grow pale and dim,
The stripes are bloody scars,
A lie the vaunting hymn.

It shields a pirate's deck,
It binds a man in chains,
It yokes the captive's neck,
And wipes the bloody stains.

Tear down the flaunting Lie !
Half-mast the starry flag !—
Insult no sunny sky
With hate's polluted rag !

Destroy it, ye who can !
Deep sink it in the waves !
It bears a fellow-man
To groan with fellow-slaves.

Furl the boasted Lie !
Till freedom lives again,

To rule once more in truth,
Among untrammelled men.

Roll up the starry-sheen,
Conceal its bloody stains :
For in its folds are seen
The stamp of rustling chains !

ORIGIN OF THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

To show that the designs of the Republican party were purely abolition, disunion, *sectional*, it is only necessary to refer to its origin. On the 26th of September, 1854, a Convention called as an anti-Nebraska Convention, met at Auburn, N. Y., at the home of Wm. H. Seward. It was composed of the abolition element of the old Whig and Democratic parties. Wm. T. McCoun presided. Such men as John Jay, Christopher Morgan, Bradford R. Wood, Wm. H. Burleigh, Amos P. Granger, General Bruce, John P. Hale, were present. The object of this Convention was "to organize a Republican party which should represent the friends of freedom." General Bruce said, "they would raise a thunder that *would shake Southern Slavery to its very centre*." They finally adopted the Whig nominations of that year, as their candidates, (Myron H. Clark for Governor, and H. J. Raymond for Lieutenant-Governor,) after they had first pledged themselves to their (the Republican) principles.

The following resolution, showing the *sectional* character of the party, was adopted. It was offered by General Amos P. Granger :

Resolved, That we recommend that a Convention of Delegates *from the Free States*, equal in number to their representatives in Congress respectively, be held at the city of Syracuse, on the 4th of July, 1856, to nominate candidates for the Presidency and Vice-Presidency

of the *United States*, for the next Presidential election.

The resolution was adopted with "tremendous cheering," says the reports to be found in any of the New York daily papers, of September 27th, 1854 :

Dr. Snodgras moved to call this the *Republican Party*—carried. And then, after a vote of thanks to the officers, the Convention adjourned *sine die*.

Such was the origin of the Republican *sectional* party. The Convention called as above was the very Convention that nominated Fremont, though its place of meeting was afterwards changed from Syracuse to Philadelphia. It will be noticed that it called for delegates from the *Northern States* only, to nominate a President for *all* the States.

Following this party up to 1860, when it nominated Lincoln and Hamlin, at Chicago, we find it still clinging to its *sectional* character, as if rather proud than otherwise of the fact.

The Republican Convention met at Chicago, May 16, 1860, and nominated Abraham Lincoln. During the proceedings of that Convention, [See New York *Tribune*, May 18th, 1860,] Judge Jessep rose and said :

That he desired to amend a verbal mistake in the name of the party. It was printed in the resolutions *National* Republican party. He wished to strike out the word *National*, as that *was not* the name by which the party was *properly* known.

The correction was made.

The above shows that this *sectional* party was organized deliberately, to enable the North, if it got into power, to *rule the South without its consent*, that is, to destroy the Union, abolish "slave-

ry," and change the entire form of the government; or, if not able to abolish "slavery," and change the form of the government, to at least *destroy the Union*, or, in other words, "let it slide."

We now propose to show, from the speeches and addresses of lesser lights, that all the teachings of this party and its leaders have led to just the programme laid down above. As Garrison said, they were "moulding public sentiment for the dissolution of the Union, and the abolition of slavery." We ask every candid man to read the record and then say, if he can, that they are not disunionists. We will commence with

GEN. N. P. BANKS

Governor Banks, of Massachusetts, who was elected Speaker of the House of Representatives in 1856, by the Black Republicans, now one of Mr. Lincoln's Major-Generals, in a speech, delivered in Maine, in the preceding year, said :

Although I am not one of that class of men who cry for the preservation of the Union; *though I am willing, in a certain state of circumstances, TO LET IT SLIDE*, I have no fear for its perpetuation. But let me say, if the chief object of the people of this country be to maintain and propogate chattel property in man—in other words, human slavery—*this Union can not and OUGHT NOT TO STAND*.

Still later, in 1856, in a speech in Massachusetts, we find Mr. Banks turning prophet, and predicting a "military dictatorial government" in this country. He had no faith in the stability of "free institutions." He said :

I can conceive of a time when this Constitution shall not be in existence;

when we shall have an absolute military dictatorial government, transmitted from age to age, with men at its head who are made rulers by military commission, or who claim an hereditary right to govern those over whom they are placed.

SENATOR WADE, OF OHIO.

In a speech at a mass meeting in Maine, in 1855, the same at which Mr. Banks spoke, Senator Wade, of Ohio, gave utterance to the following treasonable sentiments:

There was no freedom at the South for either white or black; and he would strive to protect the free soil of the North from the same blighting curse. There was really NO UNION BETWEEN THE NORTH AND THE SOUTH; and he believed no two nations upon the earth entertained feelings of MORE BITTER RANCOR toward each other than these two sections of the Republic. The only salvation of the Union, therefore, was to be found in divesting it entirely from all taint of SLAVERY. THERE WAS NO UNION IN THE SOUTH. Let us have a Union, OR LET US SWEEP AWAY THIS REMNANT WHICH WE CALL A UNION. I go for a Union, where all men are equal. OR FOR NO UNION AT ALL, and I go for right.

And, as if to mark their approval of such doctrines, the Black Republicans of Ohio, the very next year, re-elected this disunionist to the Senate of the United States. His brother, the Hon. Edward Wade, has, for a number of years, occupied a seat in the House of Representatives, and we find him, in a speech delivered in the House, August 2, 1856, indorsing the treasonable doctrines of his Senatorial brother.—We quote:

Sir, if the Constitution and the Union are to be used as instruments for propagating human bondage, *they cannot be*

preserved—neither is it DESIRABLE THAT THEY SHOULD. The spirit which has taken possession of the slaveholders, and their base tools, the Democracy of the free States, is the unclean thing of slavery propagandism; and, just as sure as animal life perishes in mephitic gases, so sure is it that the Constitution and Union MUST PERISH when smothered in the fond embraces of these allies of human slavery.

“Allies of human slavery!”—Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Jackson, Polk, &c., &c.

HON. SIDNEY DEAN.

The Hon. Sidney Dean, of Connecticut, is in favor of dissolving the Union, unless freedom—that is, the freedom of the black race—shall be inaugurated in this country. We quote from a speech of his, delivered in the House of Representatives, July 23, 1856:

The issue of all, the reason of all, the basis of all this lies in the simple question, shall freedom or slavery be the ruling, predominant feature of the model Republic of the world? That question can be answered in one way. Freedom, human, personal freedom, the fulfilment of the great sentiment, “that all men are created *free* and equal, and endowed by their Creator with the inalienable rights to life, *liberty*, and the pursuit of happiness,” will be the national ruling of this country for future centuries, or the sun of its past glory *will set in drapery crimsoned in its own blood, ere it reaches a century of its existence.*

JUDGE RUFUS P. SPAULDING.

Now let us hear from Judge Rufus P. Spaulding, a delegate from Ohio to the Black Republican National Conventions of 1856 and 1860. He made a speech

in the Convention of 1856, which nominated Fremont, in which he said :

In the case of the alternatives being presented, *of the continuance of slavery* or a dissolution of the Union, I AM FOR DISSOLUTION; and I care not *how quick it comes*.

SENATOR SUMNER.

Senator Sumner, of Massachusetts, in a speech delivered in Faneuil Hall, Boston, November 2, 1855, said :

Not that I love the Union less, but (negro) freedom more, do I now, in pleading this great cause, insist that (negro) freedom, *at all hazards*, shall be preserved. God forbid, *that for the sake of the Union*, we should sacrifice the very thing for which the Union was made.

Still later, on the 19th and 20th of May, 1856, in a speech delivered in the Senate, Mr. Sumner held this revolutionary language :

Already the muster has begun. The strife is no longer local, but national. Even now while I speak, portents hang on all the arches of the horizon, threatening to darken the broad land, *which already yawns with the mutterings of CIVIL WAR*. The fury of the propagandists of slavery, and the calm determination of their opponents, are now diffused from the distant Territory over wide-spread communities, and the whole country in all its extent—marshalling hostile divisions, and forshadowing a strife, which, unless happily averted by the triumph of freedom, *will become WAR—FRATRICIDAL, PARRICIDAL WAR*—with an accumulated wickedness beyond the wickedness of any war in human annals.

HON. FRANCIS E. SPINNER.

We next quote from a speech delivered in 1856 by the Hon. Francis E. Spinner,

now Register of the Treasury Department under Mr. Chase :

Should this (the election of Fremont) fail, no true man would be any longer safe here from the assaults of the arrogant slave oligarchy, who would then rule with an iron hand. For the free North would be left the choice of peaceful DISSOLUTION OF THE UNION, A CIVIL WAR *which would end in the same*, or an unconditional surrender of every principle held dear by freemen.

HENRY WARD BEECHER.

To the same effect spoke that "bright and shining light" of Black Republicanism, the Rev. Henry Ward Beecher, in that celebrated speech of his at New Haven, in 1856, where he proclaimed that a "Sharp's rifle was a truly moral agency." Hear him :

The people will not levy war, nor inaugurate a revolution even to relieve Kansas, until they have *first* tried what they can do by voting. If this peaceful remedy should fail to be applied this year, then the people will count the cost wisely, and decide for themselves, boldly and firmly, which is the better way, *TO RISE IN ARMS AND THROW OFF A GOVERNMENT worse than that of old King George*, or endure it another four years, and then vote again.

In the same speech, Mr. Beecher thus denounced the Constitution of the Union:

The Constitution is the cause of every division which this vexed question of slavery has ever occasioned in this country. It has been the fountain and father of our troubles, by attempting to hold together, as reconciled, two opposing principles, which will not harmonize, nor agree. The only hope of the slave is *over the ruins of the Government and of the American Church. The dissolution of the Union is the abolition of Slavery*.

JAMES WATSON WEBB.

Mr. Lincoln's Minister to Brazil, was a delegate to the convention that nominated Fremont, in 1856, and Lincoln, in 1860. In the former convention he made a speech, which was loudly applauded, but no sentence received more boisterous applause than the following :

Our people loving order, loving law, and willing to abide by the ballot-box—come together from all parts of the Union and ask us to give them a nomination which, when fairly put before the people, will unite public sentiment, and through the ballot-box will restrain and repel this pro-slavery extension and this aggression of the slaveocracy. What else are they doing? They tell you they are willing to abide by the ballot-box, and are willing to make that last appeal. *If we fail there what then? We will drive it back, SWORD IN HAND, and so help me God, believing that to be right, I am with them.* [Loud cheers, and cries of "Good!"] Northern gentlemen, on your action depends the result. You may, with God's blessing, present to this country a name, rallying around it all the elements of the opposition, and thus we will become so strong that, through the ballot-box we shall save the country. *But if a name shall be presented on which we may not rally, and the consequence is CIVIL WAR—nothing more, nothing less, but civil war—I ask then, what is our first duty?*

HON. ERASTUS HOPKINS.

In same strain spoke the Hon. Erastus Hopkins, another member of the Convention. He said :

If peaceful means fail us, and we are driven to the last extremity, when ballots are useless, *then we will make BULLETS EFFECTIVE.*

HON. JOHN P. HALE.

Hon. John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, was also a delegate to the Convention, and addressed it in a long speech, in which he said :

He congratulated the Convention upon the spirit of unanimity with which it had done its work. *I believe (said he) that this is not so much a Convention to change the administration of the Government, as to say whether there shall be any Government to be administered. You have assembled, not to say whether this Union shall be preserved, but to say whether it shall be a blessing or a scorn and hissing among nations.*

As this gentleman is one of the main pillars in the Black Republican edifice, and has been twice elected by them to the United States Senate, we have examined his record pretty closely, as developed in his speeches in the Senate. On the 31st of May, 1848, he said :

Let the consequences be what they may, I am willing to place myself upon the principle of human right; to stand where the Word of God and my own conscience concur in placing me, and their bid defiance to all consequences. And in the end, if this Union, bound as it is to associations, has no other principle of cement than the blood of human slavery, LET IT SUNDER.

Again, on the 12th of July, he said :

All the horrors of dissolution I can look steadfastly in the face, before I could look to that moral ruin which must fall upon us when we have so far prostituted ourselves as to become the pioneers of slavery in the Territories.

From another speech of Mr. Hale, delivered in the Senate, February 26, 1856, we extract the following blood and thunder morsel :

I thank God that the indications of the present day seem to promise that

the North have at last got to the wall, and will go no further. I hope so. The Senator says there may be a power that shall say, "Thus far shalt thou go, and no further." Good! Good! Sir, *I hope it will come, and if it comes to blood, LET BLOOD COME.* No, sir, if that issue must come, *let it come, and it cannot come too soon.* . . . Sir, Puritan blood has not always shrank from even those encounters; and when the war has been proclaimed with the *knife, and the knife to the hilt, the steel has sometimes glistened in their hands;* and when the battle was over, they were not always second best.

CARL SHURZ.

In the same vein do we find Mr. Carl Shurz, a delegate from Wisconsin to the Chicago Convention that nominated Mr. Lincoln, and recently Mr. Lincoln's Minister to Spain, speaking in St. Louis, in 1860:

May the God in human nature be aroused and pierce the very soul of our nation with an energy *that shall sweep as with the besom of destruction, this abomination from the land.* You call this revolution. *It is.* In this we need revolution; we must, we will have it! LET IT COME!

REV. EDMUND H. SEARS.

Among the documents published in 1856, and circulated by the Republican National Committee as a campaign document, we find a sermon preached by the Rev. Edmund H. Sears, at Wayland, Massachusetts, June 15, 1856, (it will be recollected that the clergy were very active for Fremont,) from which we quote:

Out of the present crisis there are two paths that open before us, and only two. One is through *violence and revolution.* When the public organism has become

possessed with the spirit of evil, and is used chiefly for its work, the last remedy is to *break it in pieces,* and let right and justice go free. *Revolution is God's Remedy.*

REV. HENRY W. BELLOWES.

The Rev. Henry W. Bellows, of New York, is another political parson, who, at every election, throws off his clerical robes and takes the stump for the Black Republicans. He delivered a political sermon in 1856, which the Black Republican National Committee adopted and circulated as a Republican document. We quote from it:

Considered as a question of policy, *it is by no means certain, that the dissolution of the Union would be a political evil to us.* The Union is great, precious, sacred! but—yes! we must say it!—*humanity, duty, honor, religion, are greater than the Union.* This, then, is the unyielding ground of the Republican party—*there is no evil possible to the country at this crisis as great as the extension of slavery.* Dreadful as disunion is, *the extension of slavery is still more dreadful.* The dissolution of the Union, however deplorable, *is not primarily a question of conscience, but of policy.* We made the Union, and *we have a right to unmake it, if we choose.*

REV. DR. KIRK.

Hear another political parson and Black Republican stumper, the Rev Dr. Kirk, of Boston:

The doctrine that a negro is not a man, and the doctrine that a negro is a man, have now come to the *death struggle,* and the nation will heave with every convulsive struggle of the contest. Neither will yield until *a continent has been swept with the deluge of CIVIL WAR.*

JAMES S. PIKE.

James S. Pike, the regular editorial correspondent of the *New York Tribune*, and Mr. Lincoln's Minister to the Netherlands, thus pithily expressed his belief:

I have no doubt that the free and slave States *ought to separate*. *The Union is not worth supporting in connection with the South.*

EX-LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR FORD.

Take another gem from the speech of ex-Lieutenant Governor Ford, of Ohio, the Black Republican printer of the House of Representatives:

I love the Union, *but the time has come when we must declare we love freedom better than the Union.*

This is the same Ford who surrendered Harper's Ferry to Stonewall Jackson.

SECESSION THE DUTY OF ABOLITIONISTS.

The following resolutions were adopted by the American Anti-Slavery Society, at its regular anniversary. See *New York Observer*, May 25th, 1844:

Resolved, That a political Union in any form between a slaveholding and a free community must necessarily involve the latter in the gulf of slavery. Therefore,

Resolved, That *Secession* from the *United States government* is the duty of every *Abolitionist*, since no one can take office, or deposit a vote under its Constitution without violating his anti-slavery principles, and rendering himself an abettor to the slaveholder in his sin.

Resolved, That fourteen years of warfare against the slave power have convinced us that every act done in support of the *American Union* rivets the chains of the slave—that the only exodus of the slave to freedom, unless it be one of

blood, *must be over the remains of the present American Church, and the grave of the present Union.*

Resolved, That the *Abolitionists* of this country should make it one of the *primary objects of this agitation*, to *dissolve the American Union.*

A PETITION TO DISSOLVE THE UNION.

"Acts speak louder than words," says the old proverb. Let us see, then, how their "acts" tally with their words. On the 1st of February, 1850, Senator Hale presented two petitions from Isaac Jeffries and other citizens of Pennsylvania, and John T. Woodward and others, praying that "some plan might be devised for the dissolution of the American Union." Mr. Webster, of Massachusetts, was unsparing in his denunciation of the petitions, and suggested that there should have been a preamble to them in these words:

Gentlemen, members of Congress, whereas, at the commencement of the session you and each of you took your solemn oaths, in the presence of God, and on the Holy Evangelists, that you would support the Constitution of the United States—now, therefore, we pray you to take immediate steps to break up the Union, and overthrow the Constitution as soon as you can.

Yet it received *three* votes, and *only three*, being the votes of every Black Republican Senator then in the Senate, to wit: John P. Hale, of New Hampshire, William H. Seward, of New York, and Salmon P. Chase, of Ohio. See Senate Journal, 1st session, 31st Congress, page 129.

On the 25th February, the same petitions were offered in the House of Representatives by Joshua R. Giddings, where they received *eight* votes, being

the Abolition vote in that body, to wit : Charles Allen, of Massachusetts, Charles Durkee, of Wisconsin, (now one of the Black Republican United States Senators from the State,) Joshua R. Geddings, of Ohio, Rufus K. Goodenow, of Maine, George W. Julian, of Indiana, (now the Black Republican member of Congress from the Fifth Congressional District of	that State,) Preston King, of New York. (late a Black Republican United States Senator from this State, a delegate to the Chicago Convention that nominated Lincoln, and chairman of the Republican National Executive Committee,) and J. M. Root, of Ohio ; every one of whom is a supporter of Lincoln's Administration.
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THE ENDORSERS OF THE HELPER BOOK.

THE FIRST INCITERS TO BLOODSHED AND RIOT.

IN the year 1857, an individual named Hinton Rowan Helper, who had been forced to leave his native State, North Carolina, in disgrace, published a book, of which he was the reputed author, entitled "The Impending Crisis." The book recommended *direct* warfare on southern society, "be the consequences what they might." It was so extravagant in tone, and so diabolical in its designs, that it was at first generally supposed to be the work of a fool or a madman. No one could believe that any sane or civilized person really entertained any such devilish purposes as it professed. What, however, was the surprise of the public when the book was actually adopted by the Republican party as a campaign document, and its atrocious principles endorsed by SIXTY-EIGHT Republican members of Congress and *all the influential members of the party!* Below will be found an abstract of the principles it advocated, taken from the large edition of the work, published by A. B. BURDICK, No. 145 Nassau street, N. Y., 1860, and the names of their indorsers, &c.:

THE PROGRAMME.

1. We unhesitatingly declare ourselves in favor of the immediate and unconditional ABOLITION OF SLAVERY.—Page 26.

2. "We cannot be TOO HASTY in carrying out our designs."—Page 33.

3. "No man can be a true patriot without first becoming an Abolitionist."—Page 116.

4. Against slaveholders, as a body, we (that is, the Republican signers and endorsers) wage an EXTERMINATING WAR.—Page 120.

5. Slaveholders are nuisances, and it is our imperative duty to abate nuisances; we propose, therefore, to EXTERMINATE SLAVERY, than which strychnine itself is *less* a nuisance.—Page 139.

6. Slaveholders are more criminal than *common murderers*.—Page 140.

7. All slaveholders are under the shield of a perpetual license to murder.—Page 141.

8. It is our honest conviction that all the pro-slavery slaveholders, who are alone responsible for the continuance of the baneful institution among us, deserve to be at once reduced to a parallel with the *basest criminals* that lie fettered within the cells of our public prisons.—Page 158.

9. Were it possible that the whole number [of slaveholders] could be gathered together and transferred into four equal gangs of *licensed robbers, ruffians, thieves, and murderers*, society, we feel assured, would suffer less from their atrocities than it does now.—Page 158.

10. Once and forever, at least so far as this country is concerned, the infernal question of slavery must be disposed of. *A speedy and absolute abolishment* of the whole system is the true policy of the South, and this is the policy which we propose to pursue.—Page 121.

11. Slaveholders ! It is for you to decide whether we are to have justice peaceably or by *violence*, for *whatever consequence* may follow, we are determined to have it, *one way or the other*. —Page 128.

WE UNFURL OUR BANNER TO THE WORLD.

Inscribed on the banner which we [W. H. SEWARD, HORACE GREELEY, and the other endorsers,] herewith *unfurl* to the world, with the full and fixed determination to stand by it, or *die by it*, unless one of more virtuous efficacy shall be presented, are the mottoes which, in substance, embody the *principles*, as we conceive, which should *govern* us.

THE MOTTOES ON OUR BANNER.

1. Thorough organization and independent political action on the part of non-slaveholding whites of the South

2. Ineligibility of slaveholders ; never another vote to the trafficker in human flesh.

3. No co-operation with slaveholders in politics, no fellowship with them in religion, no affiliation with them in society.

4. No patronage to slaveholding merchants ; no bequest to slave-waiting hotels ; no fees to slaveholding lawyers ; no employment to slaveholding physicians ; no audience to slaveholding parsons.

5. No recognition of pro-slavery men, except as ruffians, outlaws and criminals.

6. Immediate *death to slavery*, or, if not immediate, unqualified proscription of its advocate during the period of its existence.—Pages 155 and 156.

7. Thus, terror-engenderers of the South, have we fully and frankly defined our position ; we have no modifications to propose, no compromises to offer, nothing to retract. Frown, sirs, fret, foam, prepare your weapons, threat, strike, shoot, stab, bring on civil war, dissolve the Union, nay, annihilate the solar system if you will—do all this, more, less,

better, worse, anything—so what you will, sirs, you can neither foil nor intimidate us ; our purpose is as firmly fixed as the eternal pillars of heaven ; we have determined to ABOLISH SLAVERY, AND, SO HELP US GOD, ABOLISH IT WE WILL. —Page 187.

THE ENDORSERS, AIDERS AND ABETTORS OF THIS REVOLUTION AND TREASON.

NEW YORK, March 9, 1859.

DEAR SIR.—If you have read and critically examined the work, you will probably agree with us that no course of argument so successfully controverting the practice of slavery in the United States, and enforcing a precise and adequate view of its prostrating effects, material and moral has equalled that of the volume entitled "The Impending Crisis of the South ; How to Meet It," by Hinton Rowan Helper, of North Carolina.

No other volume now before the public, as we conceive, is, in all respects, so well calculated to induce in the minds of its readers a decided and persistent repugnance to Slavery, and a willingness to co-operate in the effort to restrain the shameless advances and hurtful influences of that pernicious institution.

The extensive circulation of a copious compend of the work in question among the liberty-loving voters of the country, irrespective of party or locality, would, we believe, be productive of most beneficial results ; and to this end we trust you will assist us in carrying out a plan we have devised, for the gratuitous distribution of one hundred thousand copies of such a compend—which, if contracted for and published, will contain about two hundred pages, and be bound in pamphlet form.

One hundred thousand copies of the contemplated compend, which, on about two hundred pages, would contain very nearly all the matter now embraced in the regular volume, (which sells for one dollar per copy,) can be had, well printed on good paper, for *sixteen cents each*—\$16,000 in the aggregate. This amount we propose to raise in such sums as you

and other good friends of a good cause feel disposed to subscribe.

In all cases, when convenient, contributors to the cause will please make their subscriptions in the form of drafts, or certificates of deposit, payable to the order of Hon. Wm. H. Anthon, No. 16 Exchange Place, New York City, our Treasurer and Disburser, who will regularly, through the columns of the Tribune, acknowledge receipts of the same.

Every person who subscribes ten dollars or more, will, if timely application be made, be entitled to as many copies of the compound for distribution as he may desire, not exceeding the number that the amount of his subscription would pay for at net cost.

"Subscribers' names, with the sums severally subscribed by them, in all cases where the amount is ten dollars or more, will appear, alphabetically arranged, in the latter part of the compend.

Correspondence or personal interview in relation to this enterprise may be had with any one of the undersigned, who will be pleased to receive subscriptions in aid of its speedy consummation.

An early response from you is respectfully solicited.

WM. H. ANTHON, Treasurer,

16 Exchange Place, New York.

S. E. SEWALL, Boston, Mass.

S. PADDLEFORD, Providence.

W. B. THOMAS, Philadelphia.

W. McCAULEY, Wilmington.

WM. GUNNISON, Baltimore.

L. CLEPHANE, Washington.

CASSIUS M. CLAY, Whitehall.

F. P. Blair, Jr., St. Louis.

APPEAL OF C. W. ELLIOTT AND OTHERS.

The undersigned having been appointed a committee in New York, to aid in the circulation of Mr. Helper's book, on the plan proposed above, beg leave to recommend the subject to the public and ask their co-operation.

Subscriptions may be sent to the Hon. Wm. H. Anthon, No. 16 Exchange

Place, New York, directly or through either of the undersigned committee.

Chas. W. Elliot, DAVID DUDLEY FIELD
C. A. Peabody, James A. Briggs,
R. H. McCURDY, WM. CURTIS NOYES,
EDG'R KETCHUM, ABRAM WAKEMAN,
JAMES KELLY, BENJ. F. MANIERRE.

MR. SEWARD'S ENDORSEMENT

AUBURN, June 28, 1857.

GENTLEMEN.—I have received from you a copy of your recent publication, entitled the "Impending Crisis of the South," and have read it with deep attention. It seems to me a work of *great merit*, rich, yet accurate in statistical information and logical analysis, and I do not doubt that it will exert a great influence on the public mind, in favor of *the cause of Truth and Justice*.

I am, gentlemen, very respectfully

Your ob't servant,

W. H. SEWARD.

CONGRESSIONAL ENDORSEMENT.

We, the undersigned, Members of the House of Representatives of the National Congress, do cordially endorse the opinion and approve the enterprise set forth in the foregoing circular:—

Schuyler Colfax,	Anson Burlingame,
Owen Lovejoy,	Amos P. Granger,
Edwin D. Morgan,	Galusha A. Grow,
Joshua R. Giddings,	Edward Wade,
Calvin C. Chaffee,	William H. Ke'sey,
Wm. A. Howard,	Henry Waldon,
John Sherman,	George W. Palmer,
Daniel W. Gooch,	Henry L. Dawes,
Justin S. Morrill,	I. Washburne, Jr.,
J. A. Bingham,	William Kellogg,
E. B. Washburne,	Benjamin Stanton,
Edward Dodd,	Cyd'r B. Tompkins,
John Covode,	Cad. C. Washburne,
Samuel G. Andrews,	Abraham B. Olin,
Sidney Dean,	Nathaniel B. Durfee,
Emory B. Pottle,	DeWitt C. Leach,
John F. Potter,	T. Davis, (Mass.),
J. F. Farnsworth,	C. L. Knapp,
R. E. Fenton,	Philemon Bliss,
Mason W. Tappan,	Charles Case,
T. Davis, (Iowa),	James Pike,

Homer E. Boyce	Isaac D. Clawson,
A. S. Murray,	Robert B. Hall,
Valentine B. Horton,	Freeman H. Morse,
David Kilgore,	William Stewart,
Samuel R. Curtis,	John M. Wood,
John M. Parker,	Stephen C. Foster,
Charles J. Gilman,	Charles B. Hoard,
John Thompson,	J. W. Sherman,
Wm. D. Brayton,	James Buffinton,
O. B. Matteson,	Richard Mott,
Geo. R. Cobbins,	Ezekiel P. Walton,
James Wilson,	S. A. Purviance,
Francis E. Spinner,	Silas M. Burroughs.

A FUND FOR CIRCULATING 100,000 COPIES GRATUITOUSLY.

It is believed that this testimony of a southern man, born and reared under the influence of slavery, will be more generally listened to and profoundly heeded, whether in the slave or free States, than an equally able and conclusive work written by a northern man. And it is very desirable, therefore, that a cheap compend of its contents, fitted for gratuitous circulation, be now made and generally diffused in those States—Pennsylvania, New Jersey, Indiana and Illinois—which are to decide the next Presidential contest

HORACE GREELEY,	James Kelley, <i>Chairman State Cent. Com.</i>
B. S. Hedrick,	
JOHN A. KENNEDY,	JOHN JAY,
THURLOW WEED,	Marcus Spring,
J. C. Underwood,	Abram Wakeman,
Wm. Henry Anthon,	Wm. C. Bryant,
E. DELAFIELD SMITH,	R. H. McCurdy.

In aid of the general fund for circulating one hundred thousand copies of the work in hand, subscriptions up to the 15th of June, 1859, amount to about \$3,700, of which the following, as will respectively appear, have been received in sums of from \$10 to \$250 :

Beers, Abner, New York city	\$ 10
BONNEY, B. W., " "	100
Brown, Nicholas, Warwick, R. I.	100
Burdick, Asher B., Brooklyn, N. Y.	100
Clark, James Freeman, Jamaica Plains, Mass.	10
Clay, Cassius M., Whitehall, Ky.	25
Clay, Cassius M., for a Kentucky clergyman	250
Clay, Cassius M., for several persons	10
DARRAH ROBERT L., New York city	10
Dudley, E. G., Boston, Mass.	50
Endicott, Wm., Jr., Boston, Mass.	100
Farnum, Jonathan, Millville, Mass.	20
FISKE, EDWARD F., Brooklyn, N. Y.	100
Fosdick, Samuel, Cincinnati, Ohio	10
French, Stiles, New Haven, Conn.	10

Frisbie, M. J., New York city	100
Frothingham, O. B., Jersey City	100
Goodloe, D. R., and friend, Washington, D. C.	15
Greeley Horace, New York city	100
Greenleaf, R. C., Boston, Mass.	50
Harris Edward, Woonsocket, R. I.	100
Hedrick, Benjamin S., New York city	50
Helper, H. R., New York city	100
Hurlburt, F., Brooklyn, N. Y.	25
JAY, JOHN, New York city	100
KEIGHAM, EDGAR, New York city	25
McCauley, William, Wilmington, Del.	10
Marble, Nathan, Port Byron, N. Y.	10
May, Samuel, Boston, Mass.	100
MORGAN, EDWIN D., Albany, N. Y.	100
Nesmith, John, Lowell, Mass.	100
Norton, John T., Farmington, Conn.	100
Parsons, J. C., New York	10
Pinner, M., Kansas City, Mo.	10
Plumly, Benjamin Rush, Philadelphia, Pa.	100
Randolph, Evan, Philadelphia, Pa.	20
Republicans of Pottsville and N. Coventry, Pa., \$10; Crown Point, N. Y., \$11	51
Republicans of Shawnee Mound, \$29; South Bend Indiana, \$10	39
Roberts, W. S., New York city	10
Robinson, Hanson, New Castle county, Del.	20
Ryerson, David, Newtown, N. J.	64
Sherman, S. N., Ogdensburg, N. Y.	32
Smith, Gerritt, Petersburg, N. Y.	20
Spring, Marcus, Eagleswood, N. J.	100
Stover, John A., Smyrna, N. Y.	10
STRANAHAN, J. S. T., Brooklyn, N. Y.	100
TAPPEE LEWIS, " "	100
Thompson, Wm. B., Philadelphia, Pa.	100
Twedy, Edmund, Newport, R. I.	10
WADSWORTH, JAMES S., New York city	100
WAKEMAN, ABRAM, New York city	100
WEED, THURLOW, Albany, N. Y.	100
White, Aaron, Thompson, Conn.	10
Wright, E. N. and James A., Philadelphia, Pa.	30
Wood, Bradford R., Albany, N. Y.	100
A. A., \$50; B. B., \$50; C. C., \$10; D. D., \$10; E. \$20; F. F., \$25, North Carolina	165
S. F. M., Wilmington, Del.	10
A friend, by S. E. Sewell, Boston, Mass., \$10; E. B., Brooklyn, N. Y., \$25	35
Total	\$3,518

Such is the record! We now ask, in all candor, whether these men, *the leaders of the Republican Party*, who endorsed and circulated the above book, are not morally, before High Heaven, responsible for the revolution and bloodshed which has followed? If they *really* intended to carry out their threatened designs, when they got into power, then every man can see why the South took such steps as she thought would insure her safety. If they *did not intend* to carry out these *threats*, they are none the less responsible, for they *convinced* and *alarmed* the South that they *did* intend to carry them out. There is, therefore, no escape for them as being *justly and mainly responsible* for our present *civil war*. Will any one dare to

assert that these men are not the leaders of the Republican party? Look over the names and see whether nearly all are not high priests at present in the party now engaged in carrying out *the very programme to which they pledged themselves?* The author of this atrocious book now holds a position under Mr. Lincoln's administration! William H. Seward, who declared it a work of "*great merit*," is Mr. Lincoln's Secretary of State; L. Clephane, of Washington, another endorser, is Postmaster of that city; C. A. Peabody, of New York, is now Judge of Mr. Lincoln's Courts in New Orleans; David Dudley Field and Wm. Curtis Noyes broke up the Peace Convention; Abram Wakeman, another endorser, is rewarded with the position of Postmaster of New York. A number

are still members of Congress. Some are really *fighting* to carry out their principles as they said they would, like Frank Blair, of Missouri, and S. R. Curtis, of Iowa. Most of them, however, are content to hold civil positions, and spend their time in coaxing, or *drafting* Democrats to do the fighting. Yet all, in one way or another, are vigorously at work to make good their assertion, "WE HAVE DETERMINED TO ABOLISH SLAVERY, AND SO HELP US GOD, ABOLISH IT WE WILL."—Can the people be any longer deceived as to who are justly responsible, before God, for our present *horrible, fratricidal* and devastating negro equality, CIVIL WAR, and *all* the consequences that have followed in its train?

THE FIRST GUN!

THE UPHOLDERS OF JOHN BROWN.

We have now shown from the "record" the growth of the "Republican" party from 1854 down to 1857, when it endorsed the Helper book and adopted it as a campaign document. It will be seen how gradually and yet surely it developed its real animus. The abolition egg was laid by Garrison and Phillips, Seward, Lincoln, Chase and Greeley sat upon it, and the first viper they hatched was John Brown. He committed the first overt-act, he struck the first blow, he fired "*the first gun*," in the great and bloody revolution now desolating our land. It will be remembered that Brown stealthily went to Virginia in the fall of 1859, and at Harper's Ferry commenced his diabolical scheme of inciting the negroes to insurrection against their masters.

The first step in the Helper programme had been taken. We will now show from the recognized leaders, speakers, members, etc., of the Republican party that it was in *thorough* sympathy with John Brown. Its condemnations were all halting and feeble. Its commendations all warm and enthusiastic.

OWEN LOVEJOY.

Mr. OWEN LOVEJOY, of Illinois, has been a Republican member of Congress for several years, from Illinois, and a member of good standing in the Repub-

lican party. In his speech of April 5th, 1860, he thus defended old Brown:

"I believe that his *purpose was a good one*; that so far as motives went, his were honest and truthful. He was not guilty of MURDER or TREASON. Despotism has seldom sacrificed three nobler victims than Brown, Stevens and Hazlett."

ALBERT J. RIDDLE.

On the 2d of December, 1859, the day on which John Brown expiated his guilt upon the gallows, in Charlestown, Virginia, the Melodeon Hall, in the city of Cleveland, Ohio, was draped in mourning, and a meeting there assembled to mourn over his fate. Albert G. Riddle was the president of the meeting, and made a speech, which we find reported in the *Morning Leader*, the Black Republican paper published in that city, from which we quote:

John Brown is dead, but what of that? Why is it that you gather together here, and all over the land the very bells have vibrated with the significance of the hour? Do we venerate a traitor? *Not at all, but because slavery has seized the old man, John Brown, in the gaze of two hemispheres, as a victim on whom to wreak their vengeance.* It matters not to us that all this is done under the forms of law. What of that? *So ages ago, the charge was made against the Saviour of the world, and a "strong case," as the*

lawyers would say, was found, and he was pronounced guilty and put to death.

But this event has also developed and exhibited the nobleness and greatness of Brown and his associates. *The liveliest imagination fails to show us the fullness of the lesson which has been taught on the scaffold, as the pearly gates opened and as pure a soul entered as has passed into the hereafter in the last thousand years.*

The following resolutions were passed at this meeting :

Resolved, That the system of negro slavery, as it now exists in some of the States of the American Confederacy, is but the "experiment of despotism," which lives upon conceptions, and becomes lusty upon conciliations and compromises. It is, in the words of Wesley, "the sum of all villainies," and can only be subdued by giving it, in Southern parlance, "war to the knife, with the knife to the hilt."

Resolved, That we fully agree in sentiment with those fathers of the Republic who, before the adoption of the Constitution, and while that instrument was undergoing examination, patriotically exclaimed "however desirable a union of these States may be, the preservation of our liberties is still more desirable."—We have, by force of circumstances, become convinced that the "irrepressible conflict" is upon us, and that it will never terminate until "freedom or slavery go to the wall." In such a contest, and under such a dire necessity, we say, "without fear and without reproach," let freedom stand though the Union be dissolved!

JUDGE D. R. TILDEN.

Judge Tilden made a speech in support of the resolutions, from which we quote the following :—

"Amid the feelings I felt on the death of my old and valued friend, I am almost unable to express myself as I otherwise would. I could not fail, however, to express to this meeting my respect, my admiration, my veneration for the old man

Virginia has this day executed on the gallows. John Brown has gone to his grave, and we can't call him back, but I propose that *we baptize ourselves in his spirit*, and stand upon a foundation of adamant in *unalterable hostility to slavery.*

JUDGE R. F. SPAULDING.

Judge Spaulding made a short speech, from which we extract the following :—

"I claim John Brown as a *hero, true to his conscience and true to his God.*—We have met to honor him for his faithfulness to his convictions of duty, and his principles. *We have met to honor those principles, and the cause in which he died.*

HORACE GREELEY.

Now listen to Horace Greeley in the *Tribune*, of the 9th December, 1859 :—

"Unwise the world will pronounce him—reckless of artificial yet palpable obligations he certainly was ; his very errors were heroic, the faults of a brave, impulsive, truthful nature, impatient of wrong, and only too conscious that *resistance to tyrants is obedience to God!*—Let whoever would first cast a stone, ask himself *whether his own noblest act was equal in grandeur and nobility to that for which John Brown pays the penalty of death on the gallows.*"

Again Greeley says :—

"To all who have suffered for human good, who have been persecuted for an idea, who have been hated because of their efforts to make the daily path of the despised and unfortunate less rugged, *his memory will be fragrant through generations.* It will be easier to die hereafter in a good cause, even on the gallows, since John Brown has *hallowed that mode of exit* from the troubles and temptations of this mortal life."

WINSTED HERALD.

We next quote from the *Winsted* (Connecticut) *Herald*, a strong Republican paper, which then had flying at its masthead the names of Lincoln and Hamlin :—

"For one, we confess we *love* him, we *honor* him, we *applaud* him. He is honest in his principles, courageous in their defence, and we have yet to be taught, reading from the book of inspiration we acknowledge, *how and wherein old John Brown is a transgressor.*"

"He dared to undertake what *you* (the Republican leaders), in the security of your sanctums, only are *bold to preach.*"

GOV. JOHN A. ANDREWS.

John A. Andrews, the Republican Governor of Massachusetts, presided at a John Brown sympathy meeting in Boston, on the 19th of Nov. 1859, at which Wendell Phillips and R. W. Emerson made speeches. He too made a speech, from which the following is an extract:—

John Brown and his companions in the conflict at Harper's Ferry, those who fell there and those who are to suffer on the scaffold, are victims and martyrs to an idea. *There is an irrepressible conflict* [great applause] *between freedom and slavery as old and as immortal as the irrepressible conflict between right and wrong. They are among the martyrs of that conflict. John Brown was right.*—I sympathize with the man, I sympathize with the idea, *because I sympathize with and believe in the eternal right.* They who are dependent upon him and his sons and his associates, in the battle at Harper's Ferry, *have a right to call upon us who have professed to believe, or who have, in any manner or measure, taught the doctrine of the rights of man as applied to the colored slaves of the South, to stand by them in their bereavement.* We are to-night in the presence of a great and an awful sorrow, which has fallen like a pall upon many families whose hearts fail, whose affections are lacerated, and whose hopes are crushed—all of hope left on earth destroyed by an event, which, under the providence of God, *I pray will be over-ruled for that good which was contemplated and intended by John Brown.*

NEW YORK EVENING POST.

In reference to the general expression of sorrow for John Brown's fate, the Evening Post of December 3d, 1859, said:

It is, therefore, we think, a sign, not of national decline, but of *growth* in all the *real elements of national greatness*, that sorrowing hundreds of thousands should have been found to overlook this man's errors in admiration for *his heroism, for his fortitude and for his hatred of oppression!* It is to such qualities as these, and not to a holy horror of *mere disorder*, that we owe our existence as a nation, and when the day comes in which no man will be found in America to cry *Bravo!* when he sees them, our final extinction will not be very far distant.

NEW HAVEN PALLADIUM.

The *New Haven Palladium* talked about Brown's execution thus:

John Brown had no murder, nor treason in his heart. His mission was one of freedom. Eulogies, marble monuments, poems and processions, will celebrate his fame, and give his name to posterity as that of a *good man, and a true friend to his race.*

HARTFORD PRESS.

This paper thus endorses Brown:

For the old veteran himself (Brown), *we have profound respect*—not pity—that he asks from no man. He scorns excuse, or apology—he saw his fellow men in chains—he counted the cost, and went strait to rescue them. * * * * * *Heaven send us more of the element that makes such men.*

REV. MR. GULLIVER.

The Rev. Mr. Gulliver of Norwich, Connecticut, preached a sermon on the execution of John Brown, which was published in the *Norwich Bulletin*, a Republican paper. He said:

John Brown is a man whose moral developments so tower above those of the mass of men, that by one consent they are pronounced sublime. His crime was not murder, or inciteing others to murder. * * * His crime was *the attempt to give a practical exposition of the doctrines of the Declaration of Independence*. It was simply an attempt to do, on a large and impracticable scale, what he had previously done on a small, but practicable scale, in Kansas.

That is, "a practical exposition of the construction of the Declaration of Independence," which we have shown that Lincoln, Seward, Chase and Greeley, all taught. It is no wonder, therefore, that Senator Wilson declared in his speech at Syracuse, N. Y., October 29th, 1859 :

I tell you fellow-citizens, the Harper's Ferry outbreak *was the legitimate consequence of the teachings of the Republican party!*

HENRY C. WRIGHT.

On the 20th day of November, 1859, there was a large meeting held at Natick, Mass., the residence of Senator Henry Wilson, who was present. We give the following account of it from a letter of Henry C. Wright, a notorious New England Abolitionist, who was present. He says, in a letter to the *Richmond Enquirer*, dated Nov. 21 :

A large and enthusiastic meeting of the citizens of this town, (the residence of Hon. Henry Wilson,) was called to consider the following resolutions :

WHEREAS, Resistance to tyrants is obedience to God, therefore,

Resolved, That it is the highest duty of the slaves to resist their masters ; and it is the right and duty of the people of the North *to incite slaves to resistance, and aid them in it.*

This was adopted ; and though a U. S. Senator, (Henry Wilson,) and a U. S. Postmaster were present, not a dissentient voice was raised against it. The

resolution utters the thought of Massachusetts, of New England, and of New York. I have reason to know it does.

* * *Though our Senators and Representatives in Congress dare not avow this as their opinion in Washington, at home among their constituents they countenance and sustain it by direct advocacy, or by silence.* It was asserted in the above meeting, that John Brown, at Harper's Ferry, had truly embodied the general idea of the North. * * *There are thousands among us who have known his plans and movements the past four or five years, and have sympathized with him.*

THEODORE TILTON.

A "sympathizing" meeting was held in Philadelphia on the 2d of December, 1859, the day of John Brown's execution, at which Theodore Tilton, editor of the *Independent*, said :

This scaffold in Virginia will stand as long as the world stands! No man can ever blot it out, or put it away! It will abide forever as a monument of a Christian man, who lived a *hero and died a martyr*, and whose name to-day bequeathed to history, shall go down through the world gathering increasing honors in all coming time.

MILWAUKEE FREE DEMOCRAT.

To show that the sympathy for John Brown was not confined to New England, we quote the following from the *Milwaukee Free Democrat*, December 2, 1859, the day John Brown was executed :

HEART THROBS.—At twelve o'clock to-day the *city of Milwaukee* fired *one hundred guns* for old John Brown. These mighty *heart throbs* throughout the North, will shake the dome of heaven, and send the life-blood of Freedom through all departments of the government.

REV. EDWIN M. WHEELOCK.

This *reverend divine* ! preached a sermon on the 6th of November, 1859, at Dover, N. H., in which he said :

One such man as John Brown makes total depravity impossible, and proves that American greatness died not with Washington. *The gallows from which he ascends to Heaven will be in our politics what the Cross is in our religion.*

* * *To be hanged in Virginia is like being crucified in Jerusalem.* It is the last tribute that sin pays to virtue.

THE JOHN BROWN FUND.

Perhaps the strongest evidence of the extent to which the northern mind had become depraved by "the teachings of the Republican party," was exhibited in the raising of a "John Brown Fund" for his family. Theodore Hyatt, a man who was subsequently under arrest for refusing to tell *all* he knew about the Conspiracy, had charge of raising the Fund. It was to be obtained by selling a photograph likeness of the old murderer, and the New York *Tribune* opened its columns as the medium for presenting the scheme to the public, warmly recommending it. So great was the rush for them that Hyatt writes to the *Tribune* on the 19th of November, five days after the first announcement, that within "the short period of *about one hundred hours, the Fund had reached two hundred dollars* ! Hyatt published extracts from the letters he received in the columns of the *Tribune*. It will be instructive to quote some of them, to see how the poison had penetrated all classes, women and children, as well as men.

Lydia Maria Childs, writes :

I enclose you \$2; I should like to have every form of his likeness that can be devised, and have no corner of my dwelling without a memorial of him. *The brave, self-sacrificing, noble old man !*

A Clergyman, Waterford, N.Y., writes:

God bless you, and those engaged with you; I enclose \$1, for *good old Brown's* photograph, I want it, that *my children* may the more frequently have their attention called to the brave *old martyr*.

Yours for *God and humanity*.

Dwight R. Atkinson, Honesdale Pa., writes :

Although but *ten years old*, I feel like aiding in your noble enterprise. I shall anxiously await the arrival of a photograph of the old hero, whom I have learned to love with my whole heart from hearing the accounts of his trial and sufferings, as published in the New York *Daily Tribune* !

D. H., West Troy, New York, writes :

Send me three photographs of the *greatest hero of the age*.

D. M. E. Lancaster, Ohio, writes :

Enclosed find one dollar. Let us in every way uphold the hand that strikes *for freedom through the land*.

S. S., Bethel, Connecticut, writes :

I wish to send my mite to make up the fund, for the family of John Brown, "that *Israelite, indeed, in whom there is no guile*."

A Pastor, from Illinois, writes :

Enclosed is two dollars for the *dear old man*; my soul is sorrowful for him.

Lucy N. C., of Rochester, writes :

Enclosed find my subscription for the likeness of *dear old John Brown*.

S. E., of New York, writes :

Every true friend of freedom is morally and indirectly the *accomplice of John Brown*. Every man who hates slavery and is not afraid to answer for his principles, and their consequences, *is his accomplice*.

But enough. It admits of no doubt that the John Brown raid, in the words of Senator Wilson, was "the *legitimate consequences of the teachings of the Republican party*." All the above extracts will be found in a file of the *Daily Tribune*, for November, 1859.

THE DENOUEMENT.

THE UNION BROKEN. THEY WILL NOT HAVE IT BACK.

The next great act in this Abolition Conspiracy opens in the Spring of 1861, about eighteen months only after the failure of the John Brown raid. Can any man who can present a fair claim to the right to live outside an Insane Asylum, suppose for a single moment that the men who, as we have seen, deified the murderer of Southern citizens, and who, for ten years, poured one steady stream of denunciation, obloquy, and hate upon the Union, *really desired to preserve it?* The South simply took these men at their own words. *They*, of all men, had no right to complain.—They had said they intended to destroy “slavery”—they had sympathized with a man who undertook to do it on a small scale, and even Horace Greeley condemned his scheme, not because it was *wrong*, but because it was *impracticable*. It admits of no doubt, and is proved by the despatch that Seward authorized to be sent to Charleston, that the war was really commenced by a deception and a juggle. In fact, Mr. Seward has within the last four months, publicly avowed that when conflict became inevitable, he thought it his duty to take care “that the war should be begun by the enemies of the Union,” meaning the South Carolina authorities. In a matter of this kind, however, it makes really no difference whether “the first gun” was fired by John Brown or Beauregard. The match has been laid during long

years of bitterness and strife—and it was only a question of time when it would ignite. No one gun, or twenty guns, could make a war between a people whose hearts were really friendly and fraternal. “The Irrepressible Conflict.” “*The Abolition of Slavery or the Destruction of the Union*,” was the great gun that made the war. But strange to say, no sooner was the war commenced than the Abolitionists turned right around and cried, “Everybody should fight for the Union; the glorious Union—the beloved Union—the best Government that ever existed.” People believed them. Those who had been trying for years to save the Union by reconciling conflicting opinions, by cultivating fraternal feelings, and who proposed to continue it, were thrust in the background. They were said to be Secessionists, Disunionists, Traitors. Still people believed them. They resolved in Congress, July, 1861, that

This war is not waged on their part in any spirit of oppression, or for any purpose of conquest, or for interfering with the rights or established institutions of these States, but to defend and maintain the supremacy of the Constitution, and to preserve the Union with all the dignity and rights of the several States unimpaired—and that as soon as these objects are accomplished the war ought to *cease*.

Was not this plain? Still the old friends of the Union said:

The war is not for the Union, simply because the Union cannot be obtained in *that* way. There is a cheat somewhere. These men will yet disown their own words. They want soldiers now. Wait until they get them, and they will show their cloven feet.

And they did—January 1st, 1863, Abraham Lincoln issued his Free Negro Proclamation, by which “all slaves in the rebel states were *forever* free.” The Abolitionists were satisfied. About “slavery” in the Border States they cared but little. That would inevitably follow. The great point had been gained—“the Government was now pledged to freedom.” *The Union of WASHINGTON was gone!* Lo! the Union of Lincoln appeared! It was a *new* Union. A Union with free negroes! “The Union as *it ought to be*”—forsooth, a Union of blood and sorrow—of graveyards and tombstones—a Union now, that drags unwilling men to fight for negroes—a Union loaded with debts, taxation and a rag currency! But, no matter. The Abolitionists declared they would have no other. Boldness had ever been one of their characteristics, and, to their credit be it said, the very men who threatened that they would destroy the Union, now openly boasted that *they had done it*, and did not want it back again. We propose now to collate some evidence on this point, and then leave the subject to the reflection of the reader. First, we will commence with the pioneer who generally keeps about twelve months ahead of the rest of his party.

WENDELL PHILLIPS.

On the 14th of March, 1862, Wendell Phillips made a speech in Washington, which we believe Mr. Lincoln attended, in which he said:

I have labored nineteen years *to take*

nineteen States out of this Union, and if I have spent any nineteen years to the satisfaction of my Puritan conscience, it was those nineteen years. The child of six generations of Puritans, I was taught at a mother's knee to love purity before peace. [Applause.] And when Daniel Webster taught me that the Union meant making white men hypocrites and black men slaves; that it meant Lynch-law in the Carolinas, and mob-law in Massachusetts; that it meant lies in the pulpit and gags in the Senate; when I was told that the cementing of the Union was returning slaves to their masters, in the name of the God I loved, and had been taught to honor, I *curst the Constitution and the Union*, and *endeavored to break it*; and, *thank God, it is broken*. [Laughter.]

The next day he was received on the floor of the Senate, the Vice-President of the United States leaving his chair to welcome him!

HORACE GREELEY.

January 28th, 1863, the New York *Tribune* contained an editorial in which the following passage, containing substantially the same sentiments as Phillips expresses, occurred:

Speaking for ourselves, we can honestly say that for *the old Union*, which was kept in existence by Southern menaces and Northern concessions, we have *no regrets and no wish for its reconstruction*.

S. C. POMEROY.

Hon. S. C. Pomeroy, is the Republican United States Senator from the State of Kansas, he delivered a speech in Newark, New Jersey, July 6th, 1863, which was reported by the *Advertiser*, the Republican organ of that city. We quote from its report:

How shall a peace be procured that will restore the Union as it was? Can it be done. Mr. Pomeroy's opinion was that it was neither possible nor *desirable*. *

* * The old Union produced such men

as Mason, Toombs, and Butler, and tapered off with such men as Pierce and Buchanan. Can such a Union be restored? No, *it is impossible*. Noah might as well have looked for the Garden of Eden after the deluge as for us to look for the restoration of the Union after such a war; the material must be restored to its native element; the Union can not be restored as it was, and he for one, must say frankly, that *he would not have it, if he could*.

ABRAHAM LINCOLN.

Even Abraham Lincoln himself, uses language more guarded than the above, it is true, but in spirit and sentiment substantially the same. In his annual message of December, 1862, just before he issued his emancipation proclamation he said:

The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate to the stirring present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty, and we must rise with the occasion. As the case is new, so *we must think and act anew*. We must *disenthral ourselves*, and then we shall save our country.

"The dogmas of the quiet past" must mean "the Union as it was," which Mr. Lincoln regards as "inadequate," and Mr. Pomeroy as "impossible." "We must think and act anew." That is work for "the Union as it ought to be"—a negro equality Union!

HON. M. F. CONWAY.

In a speech delivered in Congress in the winter of Winter of 1862-3, this Republican member from Kansas, said:

"Sir, I am not in favor of restoring the constitutional relation of slaveholders to the Union, nor of the war to that end. On the contrary, *I am utterly and forever opposed to both*. I am in favor of reconquering the loyal States of the American nation, based as they are on the principle of freedom to all, without distinction of race, color, or condition. I conceive, therefore, that the true object of this war is to *revolutionize the National Government*.

HON. THADDEUS STEVENS.

Thaddeus Stevens is the Republican Member of Congress for the Lancaster District of Pennsylvania. He was Chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means in the last Congress, and Administration leader on the floor of the House of Representatives. In a speech in the volume of 1862-3, he said:

This talk of restoring the Union as it was, under the Constitution as it is, is *one of the absurdities which I have heard repeated until I have become about sick of it*. The Union can never be restored as it was.—There are many things which render such an event impossible. *This Union never shall, with my consent, be restored under the Constitution as it is, with slavery to be protected by it*.

HANNIBAL HAMLIN.

Mr. Hamlin is Vice-President, and if any one speaks the sentiments of the party he must be the man. In a speech delivered at the Cooper Institute, in October, 1863, he said:

We have a class of men among us in Maine who very much want the Constitution as it is and the Union as it was. Have you got them here? (Voices—"Yes.") I am very sorry indeed that they cannot have it. There is no possible way in which they can have it. *It is mere demagogism, mere clap-trap; it is nonsense—it is not very good nonsense*.

THE WASHINGTON REPUBLICAN.

This journal is the reputed organ of Mr. Lincoln in Washington, and though he may deny that he has "an organ," yet the fact that its columns are filled with "government advertisements," and that it is sustained and supported by the Administration, is sufficient to give weight and authority to what it says. Shortly before the issue of the Emancipation Proclamation, it said:

"The farce of restoring the Union, as it was, *is played out.*"

CASSIUS M. CLAY.

Mr. Cassius M. Clay, Mr. Lincoln's Minister to Russia, in a speech in New York, in 1862, said :

Better recognize the Southern Confederacy at once, and stop this effusion of blood, rather than continue in the ruinous policy, or *have even a restoration of the Union as it was.*

REV. MR. CHILDS.

The Rev. Mr. Childs, a Republican political parson, in a war speech made at Springfield, Ohio, on the 19th September, 1862, said :

The man who desires to have the Union as it was, ought to be hanged up by the heels until he be dead, dead, dead ! and the wolves and ravens ought to eat the flesh from his carcass.

CONCLUSION.

Our limits are reached. We might extend similar quotations sufficient to make a volume, but if those herein contained are not enough to convince a person of the treasonable character of the so-called Republican Party, he would not be convinced though one rose from the dead ! It is proved in every line.—The bold course of Garrison and Phillips, however, declaring "the Constitution an agreement with hell," would not answer. Hence, Wm. H. Seward, the antitype of Satan upon the earth, declared, in plausible speech and cunning words, "*Say not that Slavery has any Constitutional guarantees that cannot and ought not to be relinquished.*"—"*Circumstances determine possibilities.*"—"*You and I must abolish Slavery.*"—The South, when he got in power, ac-

cepted him at his word—believed he would do what he had promised. The bloodshed so long called for by Abolition zealots began to flow. Then, for a wonder, the very men who had been crying for years, "Away with the Union, it is not worth preserving," cried, "The South are trying to destroy the glorious Union. Rally to its defense." Thousands, tens of thousands, yea, hundreds of thousands did rally. Half a million perished on battle-fields, or are disabled by wounds and sickness, ere eighteen months have rolled around. Now we hear another cry, coming from the *same* men. "The Union is gone. The sight of the Union as it was, shall never again bless the vision of any Northern proslavery fanatic." After having accomplished their purposes ; after concealment is no longer possible, and when the deceived began to call for that which has been destroyed, the CONSPIRACY STANDS CONFESSED. The design to overthrow the *White Man's Union*, formed by the glorious and immortal WASHINGTON, and to establish a so-called Union in which negroes should be amalgamated with the whites, and made equals, is proved by the *entire tenor of all the extracts we have quoted.* The motto of Phillips and Garrison, now acknowledged members of the party, has been reached, and the policy put forth by a prominent official of the Administration, Solicitor Whiting: "THE OVERTHROW OF THE UNION, THE ABOLITION OF SLAVERY, and the reduction of the Southern States and Southern citizens to the condition of colonies and vassals." Fitting climax ! Treason has ripened into despotism !

Reader, show this Pamphlet to your Republican neighbor, and ask him if he can gain say its facts, or refute its conclusions ?

White Men Must Rule America!

NEW YORK DAY-BOOK
FOR 1867.

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THE DAY-BOOK, *therefore*, demands the restoration of the "Union as it was"—a *Union of co-equal States upon the white basis*—as the only hope, and the only means possible under heaven for saving the grand ideas of 1776—the fundamental principles of American liberty—and if the real friends of freedom, and the earnest believers in that sacred and glorious cause in which the men of the Revolution offered up their lives, will now labor to expose the ignorance, delusion and treason of the Mongrel party, *it will succeed*, and the White Republic of Washington be restored again in all its original beneficence and grandeur.

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A PAPER READ BEFORE THE

London Anthropological Society,

✓
BY DR. JAMES HUNT, F. R. S.,

PRESIDENT OF THE ASSOCIATION.



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Ms. A. 8 Jan. 12

INTRODUCTORY.

Ten years ago, the writer published in pamphlet form, the introductory chapter of a work entitled "Negroes and Negro Slavery"—since published—in which he first promulgated to the world the simple, obvious, every day, but most momentous truth, that so called slavery was the normal condition of the Negro. This pamphlet, with this new revelation of a truth four thousand years old, and practically recognized by every generation of Americans since the landing of a handful of African Negroes at Jamestown, made a profound impression on the Southern mind, not from its originality or profundity, but from its novelty, and the wonder it excited that a truth so obvious, and indeed unavoidable, had been so long thrust, out of sight by the mental dictation of the enemies of American Institutions.

Nevertheless, the false mental habits of the South, as at the North, were so deeply fixed, that some of the most intellectual men then in Congress, hesitated to accept the doctrine announced, and among them Mr. A. H. STEPHENS, of Georgia, was especially conspicuous. Of course it carried with it, or rather it was based on the foundation *fact of diverse races*, and this *seemed* to some to conflict with Bible authority. In an interview with Mr. STEPHENS, he declared that his mother had taught him to believe in that Book, and he solemnly pledged himself neither to read the pamphlet nor anything else that conflicted with its authority. It was quite in vain to say to him that there was no conflict whatever. He would listen to nothing, and as the author could not condescend to argue a question of *fact* against a *feeling*, he left Mr. STEPHENS with no very high estimate of his intellectual endowments.

It was a year or two later, perhaps, when his most intimate friends finally persuaded him to read the pamphlet in question, and from that hour he *was* and *is* the clearest, most pronounced, and most complete exponent and advocate of the new doctrine among all the public men of the day.

The pamphlet was extensively circulated at the South, and some few copies at the North. No other Democratic member, except Mr. STEPHENS, refused to accept the new faith, though some journals, and especially the *Charleston Mercury* declined to do so, and it clung with such tenacity to the Abolition theory of Slavery and an "Irrepressible Conflict," that it even refused to exchange with THE NEW YORK DAY-BOOK, after that journal became the organ of the grand and momentous truths in issue.

Some few Northern men, then in Congress, assented to the new doctrine in *private*, but declined the responsibility of standing by the truth in *public*, and the late Senator DOUGLAS distributed a considerable number of copies among his constituents, under the *frank* of Mr. SLIDELL. No class in the South, not even the politicians came into its support, more promptly or heartily than the Southern clergy, and within five years after the pamphlet was published, the old traditional misconception, that social subordination of the Negro was

slavery and an evil, was repudiated by the intelligence and morality of the South. Such was the beginning of a Mental Revolution the most stupendous, wide-spreading and most beneficial of modern times, and which, when completed at the North, will settle forever that "Irrepressible Conflict" that has so long disturbed the country, and leave the next generation, and indeed all future generations of Americans, to wonder how such a monstrous outrage on reason and the nature of things as the "Anti-Slavery" delusion could ever have had an existence among us.

The Human Family is composed of a certain number of species or races, just as all other forms of being, which are generally alike, but specifically unlike. The White, or Caucasian, is the most elevated, and the Negro the most subordinate of all the Races in their organic structure, and therefore in their faculties. This is fact, unchanging, immovable, everlasting fact, fixed by the hand of the Almighty, but whether so at the beginning of all things, or by subsequent decree of the Eternal, mortals are not permitted to know. We know the fact, and God holds us responsible only for our mode of dealing with it, and when we wilfully shut our eyes, disregard and ignore it altogether, and impiously strive to degrade our race down, or to force the Negro up, to "impartial freedom," or a forbidden level, we are blindly striving to reverse the natural order, and to reform the work of the Almighty. And every man, and every woman too, in this broad land, North and South, East and West, is on one side or the other of this tremendous issue—either impiously and wickedly—helping on a monstrous crusade against the order of nature and decrees of the Eternal—or, however blindly, striving to preserve the normal order and safety of American Institutions. This being so, and it is necessarily so—what an awful responsibility rests on every individual, in view of the slaughter and destruction around us, to get at the truth involved in this matter? The lecture of Dr. HUNT, embraced in the following pages, will enable all earnest and conscientious minds, who desire it, to reach the fundamental truth of this momentous question. He has collected all the reliable modern authorities, and demonstrates what every unperverted American knows—that the Negro is a different and subordinate species or race. This fundamental fact, clearly apprehended and accepted, becomes the starting point for the mental regeneration of our people and the restoration of peace, Union and harmony in all sections of our common country.

J. H. VAN EVRIE, M. D.

NEW YORK, 1st February, 1864.

THE NEGRO'S PLACE IN NATURE.

I propose in this communication to discuss the physical and mental characters of the Negro, with a view of determining not only his position in animated nature, but also the station he should occupy in the genus *Homo*. I shall necessarily have to go over a wide field, and cannot hope to treat the subject in an exhaustive manner. I shall be amply satisfied if I succeed in directing the attention of my scientific friends to a study of this most important and hitherto nearly neglected branch of study in the great science of Anthropology.

It is not a little remarkable that the subject I propose to bring before you this evening is one which has never been discussed before a scientific audience in this Metropolis. In France, in America, and in Germany, the physical and mental characters of the Negro have been frequently discussed, and England alone has neglected to pay that attention to the question which its importance demands. I shall, therefore, not apologize to you for bringing this subject in its entirety under your consideration, although I should have preferred discussing each point in detail. I hope, however, this evening to lay before you facts and opinions that will make a good foundation for future inquiry and discussion. Although I shall dwell chiefly on the physical, mental and moral characters

of the Negro, I shall, at the same time, not hesitate to make such practical deductions which appear to be warranted from the facts we now have at hand, and trust that a fair and open discussion of this subject may eventually be the means of removing much of the misconception which appears to prevail on this subject both in the minds of the public, and too frequently in the minds of scientific men. While, however, I shall honestly and without reservation state the conclusions to which I have arrived, I shall at the same time listen with deep attention and respect to those who differ from me, and who support their opinions by facts, by the observation of some travelers, and by their own observation. Heretofore, however, it has happened that much human passion has been introduced, not only into public discussions, but especially into the literature of this subject.—Even such a generally fair and philosophic writer as Professor Waitz has accused men of science of promulgating scientific views which are practically in favor of the so-called “slavery” of the Confederate States of America. Many other scientific men could be named who have equally been guilty of imputing such unfair and uncharitable motives—while, on the other hand, scientific men who are thus accused, retort by calling their opponents all sorts of epithets. One

writer, for instance, exclaims: "How I loathe that hypocrisy which claims the same mental, moral and physical equality for the Negro which the whites possess!" No good can come of discussion conducted in such a spirit. If we wish to discover what is truth, we must give each other credit for scientific honesty, and not impute base or interested motives.

In the first place, I would explain that I understand by the Negro, the dark, woolly-headed African found in the neighborhood of the Gambia, Senegal and Kongo rivers. Africa contains, like every other continent, a large number of different races; and these, having become very much mixed, may be estimated as a whole at about 150 millions, occupying a territory of between 13 and 14 millions of square miles. I shall not enter into any disquisition as to the great diversity of physical conformation that is found in different races, but shall simply say that my remarks will be confined to the typical woolly-headed Negro. Not only is there a large amount of mixed blood in Africa, but there are also apparently races of very different physical characters, and in as far as they approach the typical Negro, so far will my remarks apply to them. But I shall exclude entirely from consideration all those who have European, Asiatic, Moorish or Berber blood in their veins

THE NEGRO.

My object is to attempt to determine the position which one well-defined race occupies in the genus *Homo*, and the relation or analogy which the Negro race bears to animated nature generally.—We have heard discussions recently respecting Man's place in nature; but it seems to me that we err in grouping all the different races of Man under one

generic name, and then comparing them with the Anthropoid Apes. If we wish to make any advance in discussing such a subject, we must not speak of man generally, but must select one race of species, and draw our comparison in this manner. I shall adopt this plan in comparing the Negro with the European as represented by the German, Frenchman or Englishman. Our object is, not to support some foregone conclusion, but to endeavor to ascertain what is the truth, by a careful and conscientious examination and discussion of the facts before us. In any conclusion I may draw respecting the Negro's character, no decided opinion will be implied as to the vexed question of man's origin. If the Negro could be proved to be a distinct species to the European, it would not be proved that they had not the same origin—it would only render their identity of origin less likely. I shall, also, have to dwell much on the analogies existing between the Negro and the Anthropoid Apes; but these analogies do not necessarily involve relationship. The Negro race in some of its characters, is the lowest of existing races, while in others it approaches the highest type of European; and this is the case with other savage races. We find the same thing in the Anthropoid Apes, where some species resemble man in one character and some in another. The father of English ethnology, Dr. Pritchard, taught that the original pair must have been Negroes, and that mankind descended from them. His words are:—"It must be concluded that the process of nature in the human species is the transmutation of the characters of the Negro into those of the European, or the evolution of white varieties in the black races of men. We have seen that there are

causes existing which are capable of producing such an alteration, but we have no facts which induce us to suppose that the reverse of this change could in any circumstances be effected. This leads us to the inference that the primitive stock of men were Negroes, which has every appearance of truth." It is not a little remarkable that although Blumenbach and Pritchard were both advocates for the unity of man, they materially differed in their arguments.—Blumenbach saw, in his five varieties of man, nothing but degeneracy from some ideal perfect type. Pritchard, on the contrary, asserted he could imagine no arguments, or knew of no facts, to support such a conclusion. Pritchard, however, was not alone in this supposition; for Pallas, Lacépède, Hunter, Schelver, Doornik and Link, were also inclined to the same view. We must not dwell on such idle speculations, for on the present occasion we shall not touch on the origin of man; it will be enough if we assist in removing some of the misconception in which the Negro race has been enveloped in the minds of some of my scientific brethren. It is too generally taught that the Negro only differs from the European in the color of his skin and the peculiarity of his hair; but such opinions are not supported by facts. The skin and hair are not the only things which distinguish the Negro from the European, even physically; and the difference is greater, mentally and morally, than the demonstrated physical difference. In the first place, what are the physical distinctions between the Negro and the other races of man?

The average height of the Negro is less than the European, and although there are occasionally exceptions, the skeleton of the Negro is generally

heavier, and the bones larger and thicker in proportion to the muscles, than those of the European. The bones are also whiter, from the greater abundance of calcareous salts. The thorax is generally laterally compressed, and, in thin individuals, presents a cylindrical form, and is smaller in proportion to the extremities. The extremities of the Negro differ from other races more by proportion than by form; the arm usually reaches below the middle of the femur. The leg is on the whole longer, but is made to look short on account of the ankle being only between $1\frac{1}{4}$ in. to $1\frac{1}{2}$ in. above the ground. This character is often seen in mulattoes. The foot is flat and the heel is both flat and long. Burmeister has pointed out the resemblance of the foot and the position of the toes of the Negro to those of the ape. The toes are small, the first separated from the second by a free space. Many observers have noticed the fact that the Negro frequently uses the great toe as a thumb. The knees are rather bent, the calves weak, and the upper part of the thigh rather thin. The upper thigh-bone of the Negro has not so decided a resemblance to the ape as that of the bushman. He rarely stands quite upright, his short neck and large development of the cervical muscles give great strength to the neck; enabling him to fight like a ram, or carry large weights on his head. The shoulders, arms, and legs are all weak in comparison. The hand is always relatively larger than in the European. The palm is flat, thumb narrow, long, and very weak.

It appears from a table prepared by Dr. Pruner Bey, that the humerus and the femur in the Negro and European, of equal height, are shorter in the Negro than in the European; while the tibia,

the foot, the radius, and the hand, are more elongated than in the Negro race. That the fingers and arms are longer has long been affirmed, but we have to thank Dr. Pruner Bey for the absolute proof.

The great distinguishing characters of the Negro are the flattened forehead, which is low and compressed. The nose and whole face is flattened, and the Negro thus has a facial angle generally between 70 and 75 degrees, occasionally only 65 degrees. The nasal cavities and the orbits are spacious. The skull is very hard and unusually thick; enabling the Negroes to fight or carry heavy weights on their heads with pleasure. The coronal region is arched, but not so much developed as in the European women. The posterior portion of the skull is increased, however, in proportion to that of the anterior being diminished. But M. Gratiolet has shown that the unequal development of the anterior lobes is not the sole cause of the psychological inequalities of the human races. The same scientific observer has also stated that in the superior or frontal races, the cranial sutures close much earlier than in the inferior or occipital races. The frontal races he considers superior, not simply from the form of the skull, but because they have an absolutely more voluminous brain. The frontal cavity being much larger than the occipital, a great loss of space is caused by the depressing of the anterior region, which is not compensated for by the increase of the occipital region. M. Gratiolet has also observed that in the anterior races the sutures of the cranium do not close so early as in the occipital or inferior races. From these researches it appears that in the Negro the growth of the brain is sooner arrested than in the Eu-

ropean. This premature union of the bones of the skull may give a clue to much of the mental inferiority which is seen in the Negro race. There can be no doubt that in puberty a great change takes place in relation to physical development; but in the Negro there appears to be an arrested development of the brain, exactly harmonizing with the physical formation. Young Negro children are nearly as intelligent as European children; but the older they grow the less intelligent they become. They exhibit, when young, an animal liveliness for play and tricks, far surpassing the European child. The infant ape's skull resembles more the Negro's head than the aged ape, and thus shows a striking analogy in their craniological development.

Weber pointed out that there were four forms of the human pelvis, and that they might be classified under the following heads: The oval (European), round (American), square (Mongol), and oblong (African). The latest researches of Dr. Pruner Bey enabled him to affirm that this law is perfectly applicable to the Negro. The head of the Negro is the test type of the long skull, with small development of the mental region. The form of the pelvis is narrow, conical, or cuneiform, and small in all its diameters. Vrolik has asserted that the pelvis of the Negro male bears a great resemblance to that of the lower mammalia. With respect to the capacity of the cranium of the Negro, great difference of opinion has prevailed. Tiedemann's researches, although very limited, have, until recently, been accepted as satisfactory. He stated it as his opinion that "the brain of the Negro is, upon the whole, quite as large as that of the European and other human races;

the weight of the brain, its dimensions, and the capacity of the *cavum cranii* prove this fact." All recent researches have, however, done much to show that Tiedemann's investigations are not only unsatisfactory, but that his conclusion is not warranted by the facts which we have at hand. Blumenbach's, Knox's, and Lawrence's conclusions did not accord with Tiedemann's. But the most satisfactory researches on this point are those made by the late Dr. Morton, of America, and his successor, Dr. J. A. Meigs, of Philadelphia. Dr. Meigs, in following out the researches of his predecessor, has found that in size of the brain, the Negro comes after the European, Finn, Syro-Egyptian, Mongol, Malay, the Semitic, American Indian, and the Esquimaux; but that the brain of the Negro race takes precedence of the ancient civilized races of America, the Egyptian of all periods, the Hindoo, the Hottentot, the Australian, and the Negroes of Polynesia. Thus we see that the Negro has at least six well-defined races above him and six below him, taking the internal cavity of the brain as the test. Pruner Bey says that his own experience with the external measurements did not yield essentially different results. But we now know that it is necessary to be most cautious in accepting the capacity of the cranium, simply as an absolute test of the intellectual power of any race.

The recent researches of Huschke on this point are most significant and valuable. He gives the following mean measurements of the surface of the cranium:

Male Negro :		Male European :	
53,206 square millimetres.		59,305 square millimetres.	
Female :		Women :	
49,863	"	"	"

Relative size of three cranial vertebrae expressed in hundredths (1.):

	European			
	Negro.	Negress.	Male.	Female.
1st vertebrae.....	7.7	8.1	9.7	9.68
2d and 3d together....	22.3	21.9	20.3	20.32
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0
2d vertebrae alone....	75.7	76.4	72.7	74.1
3d vertebrae.....	24.3	23.6	27.3	25.9
	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

"It is surprising," says Pruner Bey, who quotes these tables, "to observe to what a degree the mean capacity of the Negro cranium approaches in its *ensemble* that of the European female, and particularly how much in both the middle vertebrae predominates above the two others; whilst on the contrary, in the European male, the posterior vertebrae, and particularly the anterior, are more developed in relation to the middle vertebra than they are in the Negro and in the European female. It should be remarked that the occipital vertebrae of the Negress is more spacious than that of the Negro."

Tiedemann affirmed that the hair of the Negro did not resemble that of the orang-utan more than the European, except in the more symmetrical distribution of the gyri and sulci. Tiedemann also denied Soemmering's assertion that the nerves of the Negro are larger, in proportion to the brain, than in the European; but Pruner Bey has confirmed Soemmering's assertion.

There seems to be, generally, less difference between the Negro and Negress, than between the European male and female; but on the other hand, the Negress, with the shortened numerus, presents a disadvantage "which one might be tempted to look at as a return to the animal form." Lawrence says, "the Negro structure approaches unequivocally to that of the ape;" while Bory St. Vincent, and Fischer do not

greatly differ in their description of the anatomy of the Negro, to the facts I have adduced.

It cannot be doubted that the brain of the Negro bears a great resemblance to a European woman or child's brain, and thus approaches the ape far more than the European, while the Negress approaches still nearer to the ape.

With regard to the chemical constituents of the brain of the Negro, little positive is yet known. It has been found however, that the grey substance of the brain of a Negro is of a darker color than that of the European, that the whole brain is of a smoky tint, and that the *pia mater* contains brown spots, which are never found in the brain of a European. M. Broca has recently had an opportunity of confirming the truth of this statement. With regard to the convolutions there is unanimous testimony that the convolutions of the brain of the Negro are less numerous and more massive than in the European. Waitz thinks that the only resemblance of the Negro's brain to that of the ape is limited to this point. Some observers have thought they have detected a great resemblance between the development of the temporal lobe in the Negro and ape; but much further observation is required on this important subject.

The eyes are more separated than in the European, but not so much as in the Mongol. The aperture of the eye is narrow, horizontal, and both eyes are wide apart. All the teeth, especially the last molars, are generally large, long, hard, and very white, and usually show little signs of being worn. In some Negro skulls there have been found an extra molar in the upper jaw. There is sometimes a space between the incisors and canine teeth of the upper jaw. The

inferior molars sometimes present in the Negro race five tubercles, and this anomaly is sporadically found in other races. It has been noticed in the European and the Esquimaux, but is affirmed by my friend Mr. Carter Blake to be more frequent in the Negro and Australian than in any other race. Sometimes Negroes have thirty-four instead of thirty-two teeth. The skin between the fingers, according to Van der Hæven, reaches higher up than in the European. The skin is also much thicker, especially on the skull, the palm of the hand, and the sole of the foot. The *rete mucosum*, which is the chief seat of coloration, present nothing particular as regards structure. The hair of the Negro is essentially different from that of the European, and consists of a coarse, crisp, frizzy sort of wool, and grows in tufts, like the wool of sheep. It is rarely more than three inches long, and generally not nearly so much. The larynx in the Negro is not much developed, and the voice resembles sometimes the alto of an eunuch. In the male the voice is low and hoarse, and in the female it is acute and shrieking; at least, this is the opinion that has generally been given by Hamilton Smith and others; but there appear to be exceptions, for Dr. R. Clarke says that "a pleasing manner, soft and winning ways, with a low and musical laugh may in strict truth be declared to be the heritage of most of the Negro woman."—There is a peculiarity in the Negro voice by which he can always be distinguished. This peculiarity is so great that we can frequently discover traces of Negro blood when the eye is unable to detect it. No amount of education or time is likely ever to enable the Negro to speak the English language without this twang.

Even his great faculty of imitation will not enable him to do this.

Having thus briefly recapitulated the anatomical peculiarities of the Negro, we now come to the physiological difference between the Negro and the European.

The assumption of the unity of the species of man has been based chiefly on the asserted fact that the offspring of all the mixtures of the so-called races of man are prolific. Now, this is assuming what yet has to be established. At present it is only proved that the descendants of some of the different races of man are temporarily prolific; but there is the best evidence to believe that the offspring of the Negro and European are not indefinitely prolific. This question is one which must be dealt with separately and proved by facts. At present we find that all *prima facie* evidence is against the assumption that permanently mixed races can be permanently produced, especially if the races are not very closely allied. This subject, however, merits a special discussion and comes into that large and important question—human hybridity. We must, therefore, not agree with the asserted statement, especially when we find that the two scientific men who have in recent times paid the most attention to this subject—I allude to Messrs. Broca and Nott—have come to the conclusion that the offspring of the Negro and European are not indefinitely prolific.—With the permission of the Society, I will enter into that question at some future day.

M. Flourens asserted that the Negro children were born white; but recent observation has shown that this not the case. Benet, ex-physician of Runjeet Singh, and Dumoutier, affirmed that the

children are born chestnut color. M. Pruner Bey confirms this fact from personal observation.

In the negro race there is a great uniformity of temperament. In every people of Europe all temperaments exist; but in the Negro race we can only discover analogies for the choleric and phlegmatic temperaments. The senses of the Negro are very acute, especially the smell and taste; but Pruner Bey says that there has been much exaggeration as to the perfection of the senses of the Negro, and that their eye-sight, in particular, is very much inferior to the European. The most detestable odors delight him, and he eats everything.

While the anatomical and physiological questions must be decided by actual facts, we have still remaining the physiological peculiarity of the Negro to investigate. It is here, perhaps, that the greatest amount of misconception exists in the minds of the public generally, and not unfrequently in the minds of some men of science. Wedded to the theory of a single pair for the origin of man, they attempt to show that there is in mankind no variety nothing but uniformity.

That it may be seen that I do not exaggerate on this point, I will quote the words of an esteemed friend, which he read last year at Cambridge. He says:—"For as God made of one blood all the nations of the earth, and endowed them all with the same animal, intellectual, moral and religious nature; so has he bound them altogether—in accordance with the high behest that they should increase and multiply and replenish the earth—in one common bond of universal brotherhood."

I am astonished that an Ethnologist, a student of the Science of the Races of

Man, could deliberately make the statement that all races have the same intellectual, moral and religious natures. Rather the reverse is the real fact. Intelligence is the great peculiarity of man, and it is in the instincts of each race that we find the greatest difference. Mr. Dunn, however, it must be acknowledged, does not carry out the principle he here enunciates, for he fully admits the fact that, principally, Negro children cannot be educated with the whites. He also admits that some of the lower races are not able to receive complex ideas, or have little power of thinking and none of generalization, although they have excellent memories. The assertion that the Negro only requires an opportunity for becoming civilized is disproved by history. The African race have had the benefit of the Egyptian, Carthaginian, and Roman civilizations, but nowhere did they become civilized. Not only have the Negro race never civilized themselves, but they have never accepted any other civilization. No people have had so much communication with Christian Europeans as the people of Africa, where Christian bishops existed for centuries. They possess some knowledge of metallurgy, but no other arts; their rude laws seem to have been borrowed and changed to suit their peculiar instincts. With the Negro, as with some other races of man, it has been found that the children are precocious, but that no advance in education can be made after they arrive at the age of maturity; they still continue mentally children. The dark races generally do not accept the civilization which surrounds them, as is shown in the South Sea, where they remain the uncivilized race by the side of the Malays. The opinion of Dr. Channing, of America, is often

quoted respecting the Negro. He says: "I would expect from the Negro race, when civilized, less energy, less courage, less intellectual originality, than in ours; but more amiableness, tranquility, gentleness, and content." Now, if possible to civilize them, there is no doubt they would show less energy, less courage, and intellectual originality (of which they would be utterly deficient;) and as to their amiableness, tranquility, gentleness, and content, it would be more like the tranquility and content shown by some of our domestic animals than anything else to which we can compare it. It has been said that the present slaveholders of America "no more think of rebellion amongst their full-blooded slaves than they do of rebellion among their cows and horses." It has also been affirmed (and I believe it the truth) that not a single soldier has been required to keep order in the Slave States.

The many assumed cases of civilized Negroes generally are not of pure African blood. In the Southern States of North America, in the West Indies and other places, it has been frequently observed that the Negroes in places of trust have European features; and some writers have supposed that these changes have been due to a gradual improvement in the Negro race which is taking place under favorable circumstances. It has been affirmed that occasionally there are seen Negroes of pure blood who possess European features. Some observers have assumed that improvement has taken place in the intellect of the Negro by education, but we believe such not to be the fact. It is simply the European blood in their veins which renders them fit for places of power, and they often use this power far more cruelly than either of the pure-blooded races. At

the same time, there are doubtless many exceptions to this rule; depending perhaps on the amount of mixture of blood and inherited peculiarities. It is affirmed that the Negro only requires early education to be equal to the European; but all experiments of this kind have proved that such is not the case. To such a statement I would oppose the opinion of Pruner Bey, who says that "with regard to the regular Caucasian features, with which some travelers have endowed certain Negro people, among many thousand Negroes which have come under my observation, there was not one who could lay claim to it."

Instances have often been quoted in which a reputed European skull has shown the character of the Negro. Such an instance there is in the College of Surgeons, another in Morton's museum, and one in Gall's collections; but if we admit these to have belonged to the pure race, we shall only be admitting that in one character the European skull sometimes resembles a Negro; but there will be plenty of other characters to show that they did not belong to the same race or species, and it ought simply to caution us not to base our ideas of race or species upon one character. We know that species of the mammalia frequently cannot be distinguished by the form of the skeleton, and we must therefore not be surprised to find that we are unable to prove a distinction of species in mankind if we take the cranium, or even the skeleton, as a sole test.

We now know it to be a patent fact that there are races existing which have no history, and that the Negro is one of these races. From the most remote antiquity the Negro race seems to have been what they now are. We may be pretty sure that the Negro race have

been without a progressive history; and that they have been for thousands of years the uncivilized race they are at this moment. Egyptian monuments depict them the inferior race they are at this minute, and holding exactly the same position to the European. Morton truly observes: "Negroes were numerous in Egypt, but their social position in ancient times was the same that it is now, that of servants and slaves."

Some writers have assumed that the Negro has degenerated from some higher form of civilization, but we see no evidence to support such an assertion. We, however, fully admit that there are found traces of a higher civilization, especially along the coast visited, during all ages, by Europeans. The working of metals and imitation of European manufactures also existed in many parts of Africa. Indeed, there seems to be a great sameness in this respect throughout all Africa. Consul Hutchinson has given an interesting account of the finding of some implements used by the natives of Central Africa, exactly resembling those used by the Anglo-Saxon.

He says: "You will be surprised to hear, no doubt, that I brought down with me from the tribes of Filatahs, in Central Africa, iron heads of spears with wooden shafts and iron-spiked ferules, heads of javelins and arrows, double-edge swords, knives, beads for ornaments, potteryware for culinary purposes, exactly similar in pattern to those that are described by Mr. Wright, in a paper on 'Fausset Antiquities,' which he read before the British Association at Liverpool, in 1856, and which antiquities, I need scarcely tell you, were excavated in Canterbury, as well as proved to have been used in this country before the introduction of Christianity to our shores."

Even the cowrie (the shell of the *cypræa moneta*), which is described in Mr. Wright's paper as having been found among other relics of our Anglo-Saxon forefathers, is in this very day the currency among the Filatahs. It may perhaps increase the interest of my statement, which can be demonstrated by the articles I brought home (being deposited at the Royal Institution Museum at Liverpool), when I add that they were obtained from tribes who had no record of ever having been visited by any white man previous to the time of our voyage at the end of 1854."

There is good reason to believe that, like all inferior races, there has been little or no self-migration of the Negro races since the earliest historical records. The European, forever restless, has migrated to all parts of the world, and traces of him are to be found in every quarter of the globe. Everywhere we see the European as the conquerer and the dominant race, and no amount of education will ever alter the decrees of Nature's laws.

We hear much of late in this country of the equality of the Negro and European, because we have little real knowledge of the Negro; but in America the Negro is better known. As Dr. Van Evrie observes: "In the United States, among a people almost universally educated, and where the fact of 'equality' is almost universally understood and acted on, personally as well as politically, the advocacy of woman's 'equality' in the sense that they (in England) argue it, or 'equality' of the Negro to the white man in any sense whatever, is inexcusable on the ground of ignorance; and those thus warring against the laws of nature and progress of society deserve to be treated as its enemies, or as absolute maniacs, and irresponsible for the

evils they seek to inflict upon it." It has been assumed, on very insufficient evidence, that the Negroes in America improve in intelligence in every generation, and that they gradually approach the European type. M. Quatrefages, recently directed our attention to this point, as did Sir Charles Lyell, many years ago. It is affirmed that the head and body also approach the European, without any mixtures of the races.

M. Quatrefages quotes the following from M. Elisee Reclus: "We do not intend here to touch upon the question of slavery: we would merely state a certain fact—the constant advance of Negroes in the social scale. Even in physical respects they tend gradually to approach their masters; the Negroes of the United States have no longer the same type as the African Negroes: their skin is rarely of velvet black, though nearly all their progenitors have been imported from the Coast of Guinea; their cheekbones are less prominent, their lips are not so thick, nor is the nose so flattened; neither is the hair so crisp, the physiognomy so brutish, the facial angle so acute, as those of their brethren in the old world. In the space of one hundred and fifty years they have, as far as external appearance goes, passed one-fourth of the gulf which separates them from the white race." But we must be careful how we accept such statements.

On this point Dr. Nott has very judiciously observed: "Sir C. Lyell, in common with tourists less eminent, but on this question not less misinformed, has somewhere stated that the Negroes in America are undergoing a manifest improvement in their physical type.—He has no doubt that they will, in time, show a development in skull and intel-

lect quite equal to the whites. This unscientific assertion is disproved by the cranial measurements of Dr. Morton. That Negroes imported into, or born in the United States become more intelligent and better developed in their physique generally than their native compatriots of Africa, every one will admit: but such intelligence is easily explained by their ceaseless contact with the whites, from whom they derive much instruction; and such physical improvement may also be readily accounted for by the increased comforts with which they are supplied. In Africa, owing to their natural improvidence, the Negroes are more frequently than not a half-starved, and therefore half-developed race; but when they are regularly and adequately fed, they become healthier, better developed, and more humanized. Wild horses, cattle, asses and other brutes are greatly improved in like manner by domestication; but neither climate nor food can transmute an ass into a horse, or a buffalo into an ox."

The real facts seem to be, that the Negroes employed in domestic labor have more intelligence than those who are employed at field labor, who are nearly in the same state of intelligence as when they left Africa. We see, therefore, in this improvement of the Negro, simply the effect of education, but not of climate or other physical agents. We fully admit that the domestic Negro is improved in intelligence in America, resulting from the imitation of the sayings and doings of the superior race by which he is surrounded; but much of this improvement is owing to the mixture of European and Negro blood. The pure Negro is true to his character, and it is said that he is no sooner taught to read than he will take

every chance of reading his master's letters; and if he be taught to write, he will soon learn to forge his master's signature. This applies with equal and perhaps greater force to those free, semi-civilized Negroes who are held by some in such theoretical veneration.

I intentionally avoided touching on the great diversity of physical type found in Africa, as this subject is not the object of the paper. There can be no doubt, however, that there is in both North and South Africa, every shade of color, and races with very different features. There are also in Central Africa some races, such as the Mandingoes, Fulahs, and Wolofs, who are quite distinct from the typical Negro. In these races some of the characters found in the pure Negro are found in only a very modified degree. How many races inhabit Africa, and their relation to one another, is not the subject of present inquiry. M. Pruner Bey has very judiciously made the following observations on this point:

"We must admit that the inferior orbital margins are frequently narrow and retreating; that the noses become longer and more prominent; that the lips, turned up in some tribes, are only full in others; that prognathism diminishes, without, however, disappearing entirely; that the aperture of the eye becomes wide; that the hair, short and woolly in most, grows longer; that the transverse diameter of the chest becomes enlarged; that even the pelvis, though much more rarely, acquires more rounded outlines; that the limbs acquire more harmonious proportions; that the hips, thighs, and legs become more fleshy and the foot more arched; but as regards the crowning of the work, *i. e.*, the skull, especially the cerebrum, all the variations in the Ne-

gro race remain confined within the limits which deserve our attention. In the Arian race the skull presents three fundamental types: the elongated form (producing in some exceptional cases prognathism), which approaches the limits of the Negro type; the short and round form, approaching to the Turanian race; and finally the typically beautiful oval form, which seems to have resulted from a combination of the two former. Nothing like it is to be found in the Negro. The skull is and remains elongated, it is elliptical, cuneiform, but never round; his facial bones may approach the pyramidal form by increasing the distance between the cheek bones, and may in this respect resemble the Kaffirs and the Bechuanas, but this is all." This generalization appears to me to be in accordance with all the known facts respecting the craniological development of the chief African tribes, which thus form one great ethnic family, although composed of many distinct races.

I need not enlarge on the well-known and admitted facts respecting the intense immorality which exists among the Mulattoes and others of mixed blood. There are, at the same time, perhaps, some exceptions to this general rule, which has been observed in every country where these people exist. I propose, on some future occasion, to lay before you evidence to show that nearly all the Negroes who are asserted to have arrived at any mental distinction have European blood in their veins.

Of all the questions connected with the Negro, the most difficult to settle is that of his intelligence. Amidst conflicting testimony, it is difficult to discover the truth. We may admit, however, that there are instances of the pure Negro showing great powers of memory,

such as the acquirement of languages; but we must also remember that memory is one of the lowest mental powers. Numerous instances have been collected by different partisan writers to show that the Negro is equal, intellectually, to the European; but an examination of these cases nearly invariably leads to the conclusion that there has been much exaggeration in the statements made by writers as to the aptitude of the Negro for education and improvement.

The exhibitions of cases of intelligent Negroes in the saloons of the fashionable world by so-called "philanthropists," have frequently been nothing but mere impostures. In nearly every case in which the history of these cases has been investigated, it has been found that these so-called Negroes are the offspring of European and African parents. We admit, however, that the African Negro occasionally has great powers of memory, in learning languages, &c., but this is not admitting what is generally claimed for him. Some writers, who advocate the specific difference of the Negro from the European, have very injudiciously admitted that occasionally the Negro is equal in intellect to the European, but this admission has materially weakened their argument in favor of a specific difference. If this is so, let me ask those who hold such an opinion to give the name of one pure Negro who has ever distinguished himself as a man of science, as an author, a statesman, a warrior, a poet, an artist. Surely, if there is equality in the mental development of human races, some one instance can be quoted. From all the evidence we have examined, we see no reason to believe that the pure Negro ever advances further in intellect than an intelligent European boy of fourteen years of

age. Many writers have mentioned the precocity of the Negro children. Sir C. Lyell has observed: "Up to fourteen years of age black children advance as fast as the whites;" and Eliot Warburton has remarked that the modern Egyptian, "when young, is remarkably precocious in intellect, and learns with facility. As he grows up, his intelligence seems to be dulled or diminished. He has no genius for discovery, and though apt in acquiring rudiments, he is incapable of generalising. He fills subordinate departments well, but appears incapable of taking or of keeping a lead." Sir C. Lyell expresses his surprise at the results of the mixture of some European blood with the Negro, and thinks "it a wonderful fact, psychologically considered, that we should be able to trace the phenomena of hybridity even into the world of intellect and reason." It would, indeed, be remarkable if all men were endowed with the same instincts; but not so wonderful if we do not accept such an unfounded hypothesis. The pure Negro seems incapable of much mental cultivation; and Arch. bishop Sumner's much-talked of "improvable reason," as a distinction between men and animals, only finds a limited application in the Negro race. The reason of animals is improved to some extent by domestication and training, and this is all we can say of the Negro. Mr. Madden observes: "It will be seen by all the answers the missionary gentlemen in our different settlements have given to my queries respecting the mental capacity of Negro children, that they are considered universally, in that respect, equal to European children, and by some men, quicker in their perceptions, and more likely in their powers of apprehension." To

which Dr. R. Clarke adds: "This is observable from the ages of five to twelve or thirteen years: but from that period of life to the ages of eighteen or twenty, it becomes less strongly marked and there appears to be less activity in the mental faculties."

Professor Owen gives it as his opinion that we are unable "to appreciate or conceive of the distinction between the psychical phenomena of a chimpanzee and a Bosjesman;" but we think we are able clearly to appreciate the psychological distinction between the Negro and the chimpanzee; just as we are able to see that there are decided mental and moral distinctions between the European and the Negro. We fully admit, however, that the psychical distinction is simply a question of degree and not of kind.

The day is not far distant when we shall be able to analyze the mental character of the Negro far more minutely than we can do in the present infant state of psychological science. In dwelling on the mental character of the Negro we must, therefore, for the present, rely on the general observations of those *unbiased* travelers and others who have been much associated with the Negro race. In the first place we will see what is the evidence recently published of our English consuls, who have the best opportunities of judging of the character of the people amongst whom they are placed.

Consul Hutchinson, who spent no less than eighteen years on the West Coast of Africa, and who is as competent a judge as any man now living, says, that "his own observations on the African tribes tend to show that the African is not exactly the style of 'man and a brother' which mistaken enthusiasts for his

civilization depict him to be." He gives the result of a ten years' attendance at the Missionary school at Cape Palmas of one of his servants, a Kruman, and says that at the end he was asked what he knew of God? He replied: "God be very good; He made two things—one sleep and the other Sunday, when no person had to work." Consul Hutchinson^{*} says that "the thirst for each other's blood, which seems a daily habit amongst too many of the Negro tribes in Western Africa, appears to me to be incompatible with ordinary notions of common humanity." He adds that for scores of years European missionaries and English traders have mixed with them in social intercourse, yet they still cling "to their gris-gris, jujus, fetichism and cannibalism with as much pertinacity as they did many hundred years ago." He adds: "Here we have all the appliances of our arts, our science, and our Christianity, doing no more good than did the wheat in the parable that was sown amongst the briars and the thorns. To attempt civilizing such a race before they are humanized appears to me to be beginning at the wrong end. I have passed many an hour in cogitating and endeavoring to fabricate some sort of education likely to root out the fell spirit that dictates human sacrifices and cannibalism; but I fear years must elapse before any educational principle, in its simplest form, can produce an amendment on temperaments such as they possess."

Consul Burton considers that M. Du Chaillu's remarks "concerning the commercial shrewdness and eagerness, the greediness and rascality of the Negro, apply to him everywhere in his natural state." He says that he believes "that an abnormal development of adhesiveness, in popular language, a peculiar

power of affection, is the brightest spot in the Negro character; as in children, it is somewhat tempered by caprice, especially under excitement, yet it has entitled him to the gratitude of many a traveler." Exaggeration, he considers, is the characteristic of the mind of both the East and West African. He says that "they justly hold labor as an evil inferior only to death."

These are the opinions which have been published by the last two consuls who have written on the subject, and we shall now examine the evidence of some other witnesses.

M. Du Chaillu describes the general characteristics of the tribes he visited as speaking the Mpongwe language as far superior to the Negroes of Congo. He says "the Negroes possess an imaginative mind, are astute speakers, sharp traders, great liars, possessing great powers of dissimulation, and are far from being in many respects the stupid people they are believed to be. In everything that does not require mental labor and forethought, they seemed to me to learn almost as fast as any amongst the more intellectual races, to a certain point." He also affirms that they have little power of forethought or power of reflection, and that there is "a total lack of generalization." He also says, that although these people "are often treacherous, they have noble qualities, are given to hospitality, and the women show great kindness of heart, especially when one takes into account the way they are created."

Brehm says that "there seems to be a complete absence of moral sentiment amongst the natives of East Sudan, who not merely excuse theft, murder, and treachery, but consider these actions as praiseworthy in man. They first learned under a Turkish ruler to distinguish

murder from justifiable homicide in war. Lying and deceitfulness are considered as marks of mental superiority; and those who suffer death on the gallows are buried with the same honors as the rich merchant or the sheik."

Count Gorz narrates of the Negro in Cuba: "Their character is very degraded; the moral feeling entirely undeveloped; all their actions proceed from animal impulse, or a cunning calculation of their own advantage. Generosity and indulgence exhibited by the white man they consider as weakness. Power imposes upon them and excites their hatred, which would become dangerous were they not aware of their powerlessness. The only efficacious punishment for them is the whip. They delight in sowing discord; are thievish and revengeful; void of any religious feeling, they are given to the crudest superstition. Their frame, however, is well developed and powerful; their teeth magnificent; their legs slender; they digest like beasts of prey." This certainly is a severe judgment, and may be partly explained by the large amount of mixed blood in Cuba.

Colonel Hamilton Smith thus describes the Negro: "The Negro is habitually dormant, but when roused shows his emotion by great gesticulations, regardless of circumstances. War is a passion that excites in them a brutal disregard of human feelings; it entails the deliberate murder of prisoners, and victims are slain to serve the manes of departed chiefs. Even cannibalism is frequent among the tribes of the interior. Notwithstanding the listless torpidity caused by excessive heat, the perceptive faculties of the children are far from contemptible; they have a quick apprehension of the ridiculous, often sur-

passing the intelligence of the whites, and only drop behind them about the twelfth year, when the reflective powers begin to have the ascendancy. Collectively, the untutored Negro mind is confiding and single-hearted, naturally kind and hospitable. Both sexes are easily ruled, and appreciate what is good under the guidance of common justice and prudence. Yet where so much that honors human nature remains in apathy, the typical woolly-haired races have never invented a reasoned theological system, discovered an alphabet, framed a grammatical language, nor made the least step in science or art. They have never comprehended what they have learned, nor retained a civilization taught them by contact with more refined nations as soon as that contact had ceased. They have at no time formed great political states, nor commenced a self-evolving civilization. Conquest, with them, has been confined to kindred tribes, and produced only slaughter. Even Christianity, of more than three centuries' duration in Congo, has scarcely excited a progressive civilization. Thus, even the good qualities given to the Negro by the bounty of nature, have seemed only to make him a slave trodden down by every remorseless foot, and to brand him for ages with the epithet of outcast—the marked unceasing proof of a curse as old as the origin of society, not even deserving human forbearance. And true it is that the worst slavery is his lot even at home, for he is there exposed to the constant peril of becoming also a victim, slaughtered with the most revolting torments. Tyrant of his blood, he traffics in slavery as it were merchandise, makes war purposely to capture neighbors, and sells even his own wives and children."

Van Amringe thus describes the Negro race: "Even after having lived centuries with the white people, from whom they have received every possible instruction for the purpose of developing an attribute which would be so serviceable to them, as well as those whom they serve, they are very far from having a virtue for which they are distinguished or even trusted. The Canaanite (Negre) is indolent, careless, sensual, tyrannical, predatory, sullen, boisterous, and jovial. Such are the specific characteristics, and the sensual relations are founded upon them. It has been a favorite theory with some visionary philanthropists that intermarriages of the different species would be highly favorable to the race; but we have never heard of any of them who were willing to commence the practice in their own families. There is certainly no method that could possibly be devised, which would certainly and as expeditiously degrade the whole human family as amalgamation. If there is any hope for the improvement of the condition of the dark races, the history of mankind shows it can only be founded upon the preservation of the Shemitic (white) species.—This is the only species endowed with any power to drag the cumbrous dark races out of the slough in which they had been wallowing for ages."

Burmeister, an excellent observer, says: "I have often tried to obtain an insight into the mind of the Negro; but it never was worth the trouble; the only available result obtained was, that there is not much mental life in the Negro, and that all his thoughts and actions were merely directed to the lowest requirements of human existence."

Carl Vogt has recently observed: "Most of the characters of the Negro

recognized externally remind us irresistibly of the ape: the short neck, the long lean limbs, the projecting pendulous belly; all this affords a glimmer of the ape beneath the human envelope. Such similitudes are equally detected on examining the structure of individual parts."

Mr. Winwood Reade says, "It must be acknowledged, that putting all exceptions aside, the women of Africa are very inferior beings. Their very virtues, with their affections and their industry, are those of well-trained domestic animals. But if the women of Africa are brutal, the men of Africa are feminine. Their faces are smooth, their breasts are frequently as full as those of European women; their voices are never gruff or deep. Their fingers are long; and they can be very proud of their rosy nails.—While the women are nearly always ill-shaped after their girlhood, the men have gracefully moulded limbs, and always are after a feminine type—the arms rounded, the legs elegantly formed, without too much muscular development, and the feet delicate and small. . . . A king of Ashanti cut off the hands of a slave, and had her scratch his head for vermin with the stumps. If any one had accused him of barbarity he would not have understood the accusation. It was his idea of a good practical joke."

He continues, "It will be understood that the typical Negroes with whom the slavers are supplied, represent the dangerous, the destitute, and the diseased classes of African society. They may be compared to those which in England fill our gaols, our work-houses, and our hospitals. So far from being equal to us, the polished inhabitants of Europe, as some ignorant people suppose, they are immeasurably below the Africans

themselves. The typical Negro is the true savage of Africa, and I must paint the deformed anatomy of his mind as I have already done that of his body. The typical Negroes dwell in petty tribes where all are equal, except the women, who are slaves; where property is common, and where, consequently, there is no property at all; where one may recognize the Utopia of philosophers, and observe the saddest and basest spectacles which humanity can afford. The typical Negro, unrestrained by moral laws, spends his days in sloth and his nights in debauchery. He smokes hashish till he stupifies his senses, or falls into convulsions; he drinks palm-wine till he brings on a loathsome disease; he abuses children, and stabs the poor brute of a woman whose hands keep him from starvation, and makes a trade of his own offspring. He swallows up his youth in premature vice; he lingers through a manhood of disease; and his tardy death is hastened by those who no longer care to find him food. Such are the 'men and brothers' for whom their friends claim, not protection, but equality! They do not merit to be called our brethren; but let us call them our children. Let us educate them carefully, and in time we may elevate them, not to our own level—that, I fear, can never be—but to the level of those from whom they have fallen." This last remark is made in the supposition that the typical Negro is degenerated from some higher African race; but we think such an hypothesis is not warranted by history, archæology, or any well-established facts.

Dr. Van Evrie, of New York, who has paid considerable attention to the character of the Negro, and had ample opportunities for observation, thus describes the Negro: "But while the analysis of a single bone or of a single feature of the Negro being is thus sufficient to demonstrate the specific character or to show the diversity of race, that great fact is still more obviously and with equal certainty revealed in the form, attitude and other external qualities. The Negro is incapable of an erect or direct perpendicular posture. The general structure of his limbs, the form of the pelvis, the spine, the way the head is set on the shoulders—in short, the *tout ensemble* of the anatomical formation, forbids an erect position. But while the whole structure is thus adapted to a slightly stooping posture, the head would seem to be the most important agency; for with any other head, or the head of any other race, it would be impossible to retain an upright position at all. But with the broad forehead and small cerebellum of the white man, it is perfectly obvious that the Negro would no longer possess a centre of gravity; and therefore, those philanthropic people who would 'educate' him into intellectual equality, or change the mental organism of the Negro, would simply render him incapable of standing on his feet, or of an upright position, on any terms. Every one must have remarked this peculiarity in the form and attitude of the Negro. His head is thrown upwards and backwards, showing a certain though remote approximation to the quadrumania, both in its actual formation and the manner in which it is set on his shoulders. The narrow forehead and small cerebrum (the centre of the intellectual powers,) and the projection of the posterior portion (the centre of the animal functions,) render the Negro head radically and widely different from that of the white man. Thus an anatomist, with the Negro and ourang outang before him

after a careful comparison, would say, perhaps, that Nature herself had been puzzled where to place them, and had finally compromised the matter by giving them an exactly equal inclination to the form and attitude of each other."

Dr. Louis Buchner, has drawn a most graphic picture of some of the physical characters of the Negro: "An uninterrupted series of the most various transitions and analogies connect the animal world, from the lowest to the highest. Even man, who, in his spiritual pride, deems himself elevated above the animal creation, is far from forming an exception to this rule. The Ethiopian race connects him by a number of the most striking analogies with the animal world. The long arms, the form of the foot, the thin calf, the long small hands, the general leanness, the undeveloped nose, the projecting jaw, the low receding forehead, the small head, the narrow pelvis, the pendulous belly, the deficient beard, the color of the skin, the disgusting odor, the uncleanness, the grimaces in talking, the shrieking voice, are the many marks which manifestly exhibit the most decided approach of the Negro to the ape. That he also resembles him in his intellectual capacity is sufficiently known and established by the best observers."

M. Pruner Bey, one of the most eminent of living Anthropologists, has written the most complete memoir on the Negro, yet published, and this author must, for some time to come, be the supreme authority on this subject. Many years ago he thus expressed himself respecting the psychological character of the Negro: "The capacity of the Negro is limited to imitation. The prevailing impulse is for sensuality and rest. No sooner are the physical wants satisfied

all physical effort ceases, and the body abandons itself to sexual gratification and rest. The family relations are weak; the husband or father is little concerned. Jealousy has only carnal motives, and the fidelity of the female is secured by mechanical contrivances. Drunkenness, gambling, sexual gratification, and ornamentation of the body are the most powerful levers in the life of the Negro. The whole industry is limited to ornaments. Instead of clothing himself, he ornaments his body. Like certain animals, the Negro seems apathetic under pain. The explosions of passions occur when least expected, but are not lasting. The temperament of the Negro has been called choleric, but it is only so to a certain extent. It is a momentary ebullition, followed instantly by perfect apathy. Life has for the Negro no longer any value when he cannot supply the physical wants. He never resists by increased activity, but prefers to die in a state of apathy, or he commits suicide. The Negro has no love for war; he is only driven to it by hunger. War, from a passion or destructiveness, is unknown to him." This is a sufficiently clear and truthful picture, and the following summary, with which M. Pruner Bey concluded his paper, presented to the Paris Anthropological Society, is equally to be commended for its truth and moderation: "The Negro has always appeared to me as partaking of the nature both of the child and the old man. Anatomists worthy of our confidence—Jacquart, Serres, and Huschke—have in this sense, interpreted the details of the anatomy of the Negro. The elongated form of the cranium, the proportions of the cerebral lobes and their respective forms, the prominence of the inferior border of the orbits, the

flattened nose, the rounded larynx, the less marked curves of the vertebral column, the lateral compression of the thorax and pelvis, with the vertical direction of the iliac bones, the elongated neck of the uterus, the proportion of the parts composing the extremities, the relative simplicity of the cerebral convolutions, &c., are characteristic features of the Negro race, which are found in the fœtus or the infant of the Aryan race, in the different periods of development. The propensity for amusements, for material enjoyments, for imitation, and the inconstancy of affection, are the appendages of the Negro as well as of our children. The flexuosity of the arteries, the flattening of the cornea, the weakness of the muscles, the dragging walk, and the early obliteration of the cranial sutures, the obstinacy and love of repose are met with in the Negro as in our aged men. In short, the great curve of human development, and its backward direction, appear to be sufficiently extended to appreciate the differences characterising the Negro race opposed to our race, always taking into account the differential characters resulting from adaptation to external conditions. If our interpretation leaves open many gaps, the future may fill them up, perhaps, in the same sense. If, finally, the Negro, speaking always figuratively, partakes of the nature of the ape, it must still be admitted that it is not the most ferocious, malicious, nor the most pernicious, but rather the most patient, and frequently the most useful animal. In any case, an honorable mediocrity is his inheritance."

The general deductions we would desire to make are : 1. That there is as good reason for classifying the Negro as a distinct species from Europeans as there is for making the ass a distinct

species from the zebra ; and if we take into consideration in classification, there is a far greater difference between the Negro and European than between the gorilla and chimpanzee. 2. That the analogies are far more numerous between the Negro and apes than between the European and apes. 3. That the Negro is inferior intellectually to the European. 4. That the Negro is more humanized when in his natural subordination to the European than under any other circumstances. 5. That the Negro race can only be humanized and civilized by Europeans. 6. That European civilization is not suited to the Negro requirements or character.

No man who thoroughly investigates with an unbiassed mind, can doubt that the Negro belongs to a distinct type of Man to the European. The word "species," in the present state of science is not satisfactory ; but we may safely say that there is in the Negro that assemblage of evidence which would, *ipso facto*, induce an unbiassed observer to make the European and Negro two distinct types of man.

The facts I have quoted I believe are sufficient to establish the fact that the Negro is inferior intellectually to the European, and that the analogies are far more numerous between the ape and the Negro than between the ape and the European.

We shall not enter at length into the three last propositions. Suffice it to say, that no subject needs more attention at this minute than the position which the Negro race is fitted to hold in Nature. I have said it devolves on the student of the Science of Man to assign to each race the position which it shall hold. This is surely a momentous and most difficult problem, but one

which science must not evade. As the student of mechanical science has given to the world his inductions and discoveries, so must the student of the Science of Man endeavor to deduce from actual facts principles of guidance for the relations of one race of Man to another.

It is painful to reflect on the misery which has been inflicted on the Negro race, and the ignorance of Anthropological Science, especially on the great question of race. By our ignorance of the wants and aspirations of the Negro, and by a mistaken theory respecting his origin, this country has been the means of inflicting a prodigious, and, at present totally unknown amount of mischief on these people. Our Bristol and Liverpool merchants, perhaps, helped to benefit the race when they transplanted some of them to America; and our mistaken legislature has increased the death-rates of the slaves to an alarming extent by absurd and unwarrantable attempts to prevent Africa exporting her surplus population. All this has been done on the theoretical assumption of a mental equality of the different races or species of Man. In an attempt to benefit the Negro, we have brought on him endless misery, and rendered some of the most beautiful and productive islands in the world of little more use to humanity at large than they were before their discovery by Columbus. But men wedded to a theory become blind to all facts, and will learn nothing from experience. All the millions of money which have been spent, and which has inflicted great hardships on our own working classes, might have been saved had we taken the trouble to investigate the character of the Negro race. Scientific men have yet to do their duty in showing what are the true facts.

It may be said that some of the propositions I have advanced are in favor of the slave trade. Such, however, is not my own interpretation of these propositions. No one can be more conscious of the horrors of the "slave trade" as conducted at this time. Nothing can be worse for Africa generally than the continual capture of innocent men and women by brutal Europeans. Few things can be more horrible than the manner in which these people are attempted to be carried across the Atlantic. Nay, more, nothing can be more unjust than to sell any man, woman, or child into "slavery," as understood by the Greeks and Romans, where the life of the slave was absolutely at the disposal of the master whenever his caprice or fancy thought fit to take it. We protest against being put forward as advocating such views.

But while I say this, I cannot shut my eyes to the fact that slavery, as understood by the ancients, does not exist out of Africa, and that the highest type of the Negro race is at present to be found in the so-called Slave States of America. Far superior in intelligence and physique to both his brethren in Africa and to his "free" brethren in the Federal States, nowhere does the Negro attain such a long life as in the Confederate States, and this law formerly obtained in the West India Islands before our mistaken interference. Nowhere does the Negro character shine so highly as it does in his childish and fond attachment to his master and his family. The Negro cares far more for his master and mistress than he does for his own children after they are a few years old. I by no means join in that indiscriminate abuse of the Negro character which has been indulged in, especially by those who have only seen the Negro in his

savage state, or the "emancipated" (from work?) in the West India Islands. On the contrary, there is much that is to be admired, and more that is useful in the Negro, when properly and kindly treated. Brutal masters there are in every part of the world: but we must not found a law on exceptions. Scientific men, therefore, dare not close their eyes to the clear facts, as to the improvement in mind and body, as well as the general happiness, which is seen in those parts of the world in which the Negro is working his natural subordination to the European. In some respects, the Negro is certainly not only not inferior, but even far superior to the European. If, for instance, the European was alone in the Confederate States of America, those fertile regions would soon become a barren waste. The Negro is there able to work with impunity, and does himself and the world generally much good by his labor. Occupations and diseases which are fatal to the Europeans are quite harmless to the Negro. By their juxtaposition in this part of the world they confer a material benefit on each other.

But, it may be asked, "Why remove the Negro from his own country? Why not humanize him in Africa?" No doubt this sounds very feasible, and no pains should be spared to introduce every possible humanizing influence into Africa. There is little doubt that the African is more easily humanized out of his native land, away from all his savage associations; but this need not prevent us from doing all we can towards civilizing him in his own country.

It has been affirmed on the best authority (although frequently denied) that domestic slaves are only sold in Africa for some crime. No one, we presume,

will dare assert that there are no criminals in Africa. "What shall we do with our criminals?" may be a problem which is occupying the attention of the political economist of Africa—like His Majesty, the King of Dahomey—as well as the Government of Great Britain. Is Africa not to be allowed to export her criminals, or are they so worthless and unmanageable that no people will have them? What is to be done with unruly or criminal slaves? As a king of Old Calabar said, "You bind me down not to sell them, tell me it is wrong to kill them what must I do with them? I will give you some and then you won't take them!" Would it not be well to allow a regular export of the surplus population, instead of permitting, and indeed encouraging, the butcheries of the so-called King of Dahomey? The difficulties of humanizing, much less of civilizing, the African in his own country are very great; yet, if such healthy sentiments were generally diffused in this country as have been lately published in an admirable work, entitled "Wanderings in Western Africa," it is impossible to say what great results might in time be attained. This author well says, "Ever remember that by far the greater number of the liberated were the vilest of criminals in their own land, and that in their case exportation becomes, in fact, the African form of transportation."

There is abundant evidence to show that the Negro will not work without a considerable amount of persuasion. Even Dr. R. Clarke is obliged to admit that the Creoles of Sierra Leone "manifest the utmost contempt for agricultural pursuits, and the same feeling seems to actuate the half-educated liberated African lads." Another writer observes,

that "in Sierra Leone the Christian tenderness of the British Government has tended to demoralize them. . . . The women have become as vicious as those of Egypt, the basest of kingdoms—worse than the men, bad as they are. . . . Theft is carried to such an extent, that no improvement is possible at Freetown."

I have stated that one of the results of my inquiry leads me to believe that English institutions are not suited to the Negro race. There seems to be a maximum testimony to show that the liberated and the Creoles in our colonies are a perfectly worthless set. They accept all the vices of our civilization with none of its duties. A recent public writer, in behalf of the English colonies on the West coast of Africa, says: "The African is far more innocent and natural a creature when he has never been brought within the range of civilized life. The liberated Africans are far superior to the rising generation—in energy, in talent, and in honest principles. To handle a hoe has now become a disgrace, and the people have lost their manhood by becoming gentlemen. . . Only the ignorant can boast of the extensive freedom we have given the African. Freedom, indeed, we should have given, but it ought to have been qualified to suit their capacities."

In now bringing my remarks to a close, I cannot, perhaps, do better than quote the graphic picture of the present state of Africa, which has only been published during the last few weeks. There is much true science and healthy manhood in these sentiments. The work of which I speak is evidently the work of a man who has devoted much attention to the study of the great science of mankind; and I am pleased to find that my own

views find ample support in the conclusions of this accomplished and scientific observer. Speaking of the Negroes of Bonny, he says: "The slaves wore a truly miserable appearance, lean and deformed, with krakra lepra and fearful ulcerations. It is in these places that one begins to feel a doubt touching the total suppression of slavery. The chiefs openly beg that the rules may be relaxed, in order that they may get rid of their criminals. This is at present impossible, and the effects are a reduplication of misery. We pamper our convicts; Africans torture them to death. Cheapness of the human article is another cause of immense misery to it. In some rivers a canoe crew never lasts three years. Pilfering—'Show me a black man and I will show you a thief,' say the traders—and debauchery are natural to the slave, and they must be repressed by abominable cruelties. The master thinks nothing of nailing their hands to a water cask, of mutilating them in various ways; many lose their eyes by being peppered, after the East Indian fashion, with coarsely-powdered cayenne; their ears are cut off, or they are flogged. The whip is composed of a twisted bullock's or hippopotamus' hide, sun dried, with a sharp edge at the turns, and often wrapped with copper wire; it is less merciful even than the knout, now historical. The operation may be prolonged for hours, or for a whole day, the culprit's arms being tied to a rafter, which keeps them at full stretch, and every fifteen minutes or so a whack, that cuts away the flesh like a knife, is administered. This is a favorite treatment for guilty wives, who are also ripped up, cut to pieces, or thrown to the sharks. If a woman has twins, or becomes mother of more than four, the parent is

banished and the children are destroyed. The greatest insult is to point at a man with arm and two fingers extended, saying at the same time, *Nama shubra ! i.e.*, one of twins, or a son of some lower animal. When a great man dies, all kinds of barbarities are committed; slaves are buried, or floated down the river bound to bamboo sticks and mats, till eaten piecemeal by sharks. The slave, as might be expected, is not less brutal than his lord. It amazes me to hear Englishmen plead that there is moral degradation to a Negro bought by a white man, and none when serving under a black man. The philanthropists, doubtless, think how our poorer classes at home, in the nineteenth century, would feel if hurried from liberty to eternal servitude by some nefarious African. But can any civilized sentiments belong to the miserable half-starved being, whose one scanty meal of vegetable per day is eked out with monkey and snake, cat and dog, maggot and grub?—whose life is ceaseless toil, varied only by torture, and who may be destroyed at any moment by a nod from his owner? When the slave has once surmounted his dread of being shipped by the white man, nothing under the sun would, I believe induce him willingly to return to what he should call his home. And as they were, our West Indian colonies were lands of happiness compared with Oil Rivers; as for the

'Southern States,' the slave's lot is paradise when succeeding what he endures on the West Coast of Africa. I believe these to be facts, but *tant pis pour les faits*. Presently, however, the philanthropic theory shall fall, and shall be replaced by a new fabric, built upon a more solid foundation."

In conclusion, let me observe that it is not alone the man of science who has discerned the Negro's unfitness for civilization, as we understand it. Here is Mr. Anthony Trollope, who is certainly quite guiltless of ever having examined the evidence of the distinction between the Negro and European, and yet truly says of the Negroes:—"Give them their liberty, starting them well in the world at what expense you please, and at the end of six months they will come back upon your hands for the means of support. Everything must be done for them; they expect food, clothes and instruction as to every simple act of life, as do children."

We must for the present leave aside all questions as to the origin of the Negro, and simply take him as he exists, and not as poets and fanatics paint him. We shall then learn, that it is only by observation and experiment that we can determine the exact place in nature which the Negro race should hold, and that it is both absurd and chimerical to attempt to put him in any other.

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